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JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the
POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 226.

I shall conclude the Debate begun in your last, with a Speech made by C. Sulpicius, in the Character of Edward Southwell, Esq; which was to this Effect.

Mr. President;
SIR,



S Reformation in Religion has always been a most frightful Word to Priests, so Reformation in Government has always, for the same Reason, been equally terrible to Ministers: Those Abuses in Religion, which make a Reformation necessary, have generally been introduced by the Cunning of Priests, for increasing their own Power or their Revenues; and those Abuses in Government, which render a Reformation necessary, have generally been introduced by the Cunning of Ministers, in order to increase their own Power or Profits. These two Orders of Men have, therefore, the same Reason to dread a Reformation, because it must be attended with a Di-

minution of their Power or their Profits, and, probably, with a very great Diminution of both. For this Reason, Sir, when I hear a Minister running out against Reformation, and dressing it up in all the hobgoblin Shapes his Fancy can suggest, I always think of the Priests of Diana at Ephesus: It is not the Danger that threatens the Publick, but the Danger that threatens their Shrine, which they are afraid of; and as the overgrown Power of Ministers is of as pernicious Consequence to free Government as the overgrown Power of Priests is to true Religion, a Reformation is often as necessary in one Case as the other. This is the Foundation of that Maxim laid down by Macbeth, That in order to preserve a free Government, it often becomes necessary to bring it back to its first Principles; which is a Maxim the Friends of Liberty will always take Care to observe, and, we may expect, that it will be as constantly opposed by Ministers, who always have been, and always will be grasping at arbitrary Power.

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Upon this Principle, Sir, let us examine the Motion now before us, in order to see whether it is not returning a Step back to our antient Constitution; and, I am sure, no Man, who has read the Histories of this Nation, will say, that our Ancestors the *Saxons* ever thought of inviting Men to serve the Publick by great Salaries or Pensions: On the contrary, we know, that all those Offices that are of true *Saxon* Original, such as Sheriffs, Parish Offices, and most of our Offices in Cities and Boroughs, are attended with an Expence, instead of being of any Advantage to the Officer. At least, if they now make any Advantage of them, it is by some Innovation unknown to our Ancestors, and such a one as they would never have allowed to be introduced. But the Crown having, by some Means or other, got into its Possession the arbitrary Disposal of almost all Offices and Places, Ministers soon found, that the more valuable those Offices and Places were made, the more their Power would be extended; therefore they resolved to make them lucrative as well as honourable, and from that Time they have been by Degrees increasing, not only the Number of Offices and Places, but also the Profits and Perquisites of each. Not only large Salaries have been annexed to every Place or Office under the Government, but many of the Officers have been allowed to oppress the Subject by Sale of the Places under them, and by exacting extravagant and unreasonable Fees, which have been for so long suffered, that they are now looked on as the legal Perquisites of the Office. Nay, in many Offices they seem to have got a customary Right to defraud the Publick; and we know how careful some of our late Ministers have been, to prevent or defeat any Parliamentary Inquiry into the Conduct and Management of any Office.

By these Means, Sir, the Expence of our Civil Government is become so great, that it is hardly in the Power of the People to support it: At least, it is not in their Power to support the Expence of our Civil Government, and, at the same Time, to support a foreign War with that Vigour which is necessary for bringing it to a happy and speedy Conclusion. But this is not the only Inconvenience that attends the Multitude of Offices and Places under our Government, and the large Salaries and Perquisites annexed to them: They not only render it impossible for us to support or carry on a foreign War with Vigour, but they render it impossible for us to preserve our Liberties without some great Reformation in our Constitution. The Motion now before us does not, therefore, proceed from any extravagant Spirit of Reformation, but from a just Sense of the Danger we are exposed to, if we do not reform. As to the Danger that threatens our Liberties, I do not much wonder at our Ministers not being affected with it; because from the whole Course of our History, as well as from late Experience, I have observed, that as soon as a Gentleman becomes a Minister, or, as he calls himself, a Servant of the Crown, he shakes off all Concern for the Liberties of his Country, and whatever Professions some of our present Ministers may have formerly made, I am afraid it will be found, that they have no more Virtue than their Predecessors.

For this Reason, I say, Sir, I do not wonder at our Ministers not being affected with the Danger our Liberties may be in from the Number of our Officers, and the high Salaries annexed to their several Offices; but as to the Danger we are exposed to by our Inability to support a foreign War, I wonder that even our Ministers are not affected with it,

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My Wonder does not arise, Sir, from any high Notion I have of their Virtue, or Love for their Country, but from my being convinced, that they have a great Love for themselves, and a paramount Regard for their own Safety and Interest. We are now engaged in a War, which, I am afraid, will either end very much to our Disadvantage, or it will prove much more tedious and expensive than was at first imagined. If by our Inability to support the Expence of the War, it should be brought to an unhappy Conclusion: If instead of taking and holding some new Acquisitions, we should lose some of those we are now possessed of, do our Ministers think, that the People would blame themselves for not contributing more to the publick Expence than they could possibly spare? Would they not say, We contributed what would have been sufficient for carrying on the War with Vigour, and concluding it with Honour, but you distributed so much of the publick Revenue in Salaries and Pensions D among yourselves and your Creatures, that you did not leave sufficient for carrying on the War: We confined ourselves to a bare Subsistence, that we might contribute the more largely to the Expence of the War, but you resolved, in the Midst E of publick Distress, to live in Splendor and Affluence at the publick Expence? This Method of Reasoning would be just, and from this Method of Reasoning the People would lay the Blame of all our Misfortunes upon our Ministers: The Outcry F would probably be heightened by some accidental Miscarriages, if not by some glaring Pieces of Misconduct; and as our Army and Navy would be the greatest, and the most immediate Sufferers, both our Soldiers and Sailors would join in the G general Outcry. Our Ministers might, perhaps, be able, by a pack'd Majority in Parliament, to protect them-

selves against any legal Prosecution; but such a general Outcry would probably, in that Case, produce a general Insurrection of the People, supported, perhaps begun, by our Soldiers and Seamen, and our Ministers would find a Vote of both Houses but a feeble Support against such an Insurrection.

Now, Sir, tho' Ministers may, perhaps, give themselves very little Trouble about what Misfortunes may befall their Country, yet when it is so very probable that such Misfortunes may bring the greatest of all Misfortunes upon themselves, I cannot but be surprised to find them so little affected with the Danger. What may be the Event of the present War, no one can tell: I must confess, I do not at all think the Odds in our Favour; but let the Event be what it will, if our Ministers should agree to, and adopt this Motion, it would contribute not a little towards preventing their being made answerable for the Event of the War; whereas, if by their Means it be rejected, they will thereby heap Coals of Fire upon their own Heads, by which the Heads of some of them may very probably be consumed, if this Nation should meet with any signal Misfortune. Thus far I have endeavoured, Sir, to persuade our Ministers to take Care of themselves, tho' I fear my Arguments will have very little Effect, because I know how prevalent a present Advantage is, especially in this selfish Age, when put in the Balance against any future Consideration; I shall, therefore, leave our Ministers to the Guidance of their own good or evil Genius, and apply myself to those who may be presumed to have a greater Concern for the Welfare of their Country, and the Preservation of its Liberties, than they have for any little Advantage or Expectation of their own.

judging without Prejudice, I am sure, they must be sensible of the great Danger our Liberties are in, from the vast Influence the Crown has of late Years acquired by the Multiplication of Offices, and the Increase of Officers, as well as the Increase of their Salaries and Perquisites; for surely no Gentleman will say, that our Monarchy would continue to be a limited Monarchy, if the Crown were sure of having always a Parliament at its Devotion; and that this may be the Case, that this will be the Case, is, I think, absolutely certain, if some effectual Methods be not very soon taken to prevent it. A Reformation therefore of some Kind or other is become absolutely necessary, if we intend to preserve our Liberties. A Place Bill, and a Bill for excluding Officers of all Ranks and Degrees, with a very few Exceptions, from voting at Elections, may have some Effect; but it is very certain, that the most effectual Method would be to diminish the Number and Value of those Gifts which the Crown has a Power to bestow; and the Motion now before us is, I think, the most obvious Step, and the first Step we ought to take for this Purpose. The Motion is in itself so reasonable, and the Honourable Gentleman who made it, has chosen such a seasonable and critical Conjunction for offering it to our Consideration, that, if it be not agreed to, I shall despair of ever seeing any effectual Law made, for preventing that corrupt Influence, which the Crown has a Power to make use of both in Parliament and at Elections. A new Administration may, in order to gain a little Popularity at their first Entrance into Power, connive at the introducing and passing, or they may themselves introduce and promote some Bill, that has a specious Appearance of being in favour of Liberty; but I shall never expect an effectual Bill from that Quarter. I have such an

Opinion of Ministers, that I cannot be easily convinced, that they will ever consent to have their Power effectually abridged; therefore I must be of Opinion, that if ever any such Bill be passed, it must make its Way through this House against the Power and Influence of the Administration, and must be forced through the other two Branches of the Legislature, or one of them at least, by the obstinate Virtue of this Assembly: Thank God! we have still the Power in our Hands, in some Measure, to compel a Compliance with what our Constituents, as well as ourselves, think absolutely necessary for the Preservation of our Constitution. But in the Case now before us, we have no Occasion to make any extraordinary Use of our Power: No Tacking is proposed: No Refusal, nor any Delay of the Supplies is desired: What my Hon. Friend has proposed comes not only naturally but necessarily into a Supply Bill, and consequently must be agreed to by the other two Branches of the Legislature, or the Whole of this Branch of the Supply must be lost. If therefore such a natural and such a well judged Proposition as this, in favour of our Liberties, be rejected by this House, can I suppose, that ever any other can make its Way through this House against the Torrent of ministerial Favour?

This Proposition, Sir, claims our Approbation, not only from the End intended by it, and from the Method of introducing it, but also from the Time at which it has been introduced. Was ever Nation in greater Distress than this is at present? Engaged in a War against two of the richest and most powerful Nations in Europe, without one Ally to assist us but such as are a Burden to us: Such as require more Assistance from us than they can give us; and this at a Time when our People are so loaded with Taxes, that even the Ingenuity of our

our Ministers can scarcely invent a new one; and at a Time when almost all those Taxes are mortgaged for paying off the Interest and Principal of Debts contracted above 30 Years ago. In this War, Sir, our Trade must be greatly distressed, therefore the general Balance must be less in our Favour than in Time of Peace, or in any former War we were ever engaged in; consequently our Returns in Gold and Silver must be less than they have been for an Age passed; and at the same Time we must send out great Quantities for paying our Armies upon the Continent, and our Subsidies to foreign Princes. As our publick Credit is still good, we may expect, that some of the Money we send abroad for these Purposes will be returned again, in order to be placed in our publick Funds; but we are in great Danger of losing this Supply; for as many of our People are now abroad, or at Sea, and as our landed Gentlemen must live more sparingly, the Consumption must be less, and, consequently, the Produce of most of our Taxes must decrease; so that the Sinking Fund, which is the only Fund our Creditors can trust to for having their Principal paid off, may in a short Time be totally annihilated; and if People should see that Fund annihilated, which is the only one we have for paying them off their Principal, they would soon begin to be shy of placing their Money in any of our publick Funds.

In these Circumstances, Sir, have we not great Reason to fear lest our Enemy's Purse should be found to be longer than our own? When they first entered into the War, they had no old Debts to pay, nor were any of their Taxes mortgaged. Their People were subject to no Taxes but such as were necessary for supporting their Government in Time of Peace, and they have as yet imposed but very few new Taxes. It

is said of *Lewis* the XIVth, that when he heard of War being declared against him by *England*, he said, *He bien! la derniere Guine a l'emportera.* How much more Reason have the French to say so now? No People A know better than they do how to stand upon the Defensive: No People are better provided for it. Notwithstanding the many signal Misfortunes they met with in the last War we were engaged in against them, by standing upon the Defensive they prolonged the War, and supported it by the Help of Spanish Galleons, till both the Dutch and we were very near exhausted; for as the Spaniards are united with them in this War, as well as the last, they have a great Advantage C over us, because, notwithstanding all the Men of War and Privateers we can fit out, they will every now and then be getting home a Spanish Galleon, and by them will be continually getting a Supply of Gold and Silver; whereas we can get no D Supply of these Sinews of War, but what we get by the general Balance of our Trade, and that is not, I am afraid, near so much in our Favour as it was during the late War.

Thus, Sir, supposing we were in no Danger of being out-numbered E in Troops, we are in very great Danger of being out-number'd in Guineas; and if our Funds should fail before the War can be brought to a Period, what will become of us or our Allies? As none of our present Allies have any Funds sufficient for maintaining the Armies they have on Foot: As they have no Funds to trust to but ours, if ours should fail they must submit to any Terms France may be pleased to impose; and if we should be thus left to fight it out by ourselves alone against France and Spain, and that at a Time when we had neither Money nor Credit to fit out a Squadron, should not we be under a Necessity

cessity of submitting to the same Sort of Terms? In these Circumstances, Sir, and when we are in so much Danger of being run out before the War can be brought to a Period, will any Gentleman say, that we ought to allow our Ministers, Placemen, and Pensioners, to enjoy the same Salaries and Pensions they were provided with in Time of Peace? Or that we ought not to deduct some Part of their Salary or Pension, or subject them to some higher Tax than any other Sort of People?

But this, it is said, is the Practice of arbitrary Governments, or of Princes that were aiming at arbitrary Power, and we ought not to make their Conduct a Precedent for ours. Can this be called Reasoning, Sir? Because an arbitrary Government does a just or a right Thing, therefore we are never to do so. If we can find no Precedent for this in any of the free Governments of Europe, it is because their Ministers and Officers have either no Salaries at all, or no more than is absolutely necessary for supporting the Dignity of their Office. But our Ministers and Officers have higher Salaries and Perquisites in Proportion, than the Ministers and Officers even of any arbitrary Government in Europe; and since we imitate them in granting high Salaries and Pensions, we ought to imitate them in making Deductions when we are involved in a foreign War. This was done by the Court of Spain, as soon as War was declared against us, if there is any Credit to be given to our Gazettes and Newspapers: In order to provide for the Expence of the War, that Court began with reducing the Appointments of all their Officers both civil and military, and with annihilating the Perquisites of many others. The same Thing was done by the Court of Vienna, when they found them-

selves attacked by France and Spain. In Russia likewise they made large Deductions from the Salaries of their Officers, during the War with Sweden; and even lately in Denmark, when there was but the Appearance A of a War with Sweden, his Danish Majesty began with laying a Tax upon all Salaries in Proportion to their yearly Produce. If no such Thing has been practised by France, it is because the Quality in that Kingdom are proud of serving the B Government both in the civil and military Offices, especially the latter, without any considerable pecuniary Reward. As many of our Nobility and rich Gentry are able enough to support the Dignity of any publick Office they can be preferred to, out C of their own private Fortunes, surely no Man will say, but that it would be generous in them to do so, at a Time when their Country is in such Danger and Distress; and when an Officer has no private Fortune of his own, but a good Salary from D the Publick, surely it would be generous and right in him to contract his Way of Living, and give up one half of his Salary, in a Time of publick Distress. If our publick Officers will not voluntarily do what E is generous and right, they ought to be made to do so by some publick Regulation, for which Purpose nothing better can, I think, be contrived, than the Proposition now under our Consideration.

The Opposition made by our Ministers to this Motion is, in my F Opinion, a most convincing Proof of the corrupt Influence that proceeds from the Lucrativeness of our publick Offices and Employments. This of itself alone ought to be a prevailing Argument with every Lover of Liberty to render them less G lucrative, even supposing that the publick Distress did not make it necessary. Ministers may, perhaps, think, that nothing but lucrative Motives

Motives will prevail with Men to accept of Places or Employments in the Government of their Country; because nothing but a mercenary Spirit can prompt a Man to accept of any such upon the Terms they are generally offered by Ministers, A I mean, upon Condition of betraying their Country in Parliament or at Elections; but if we have a Mind to preserve our Liberties, I am sure, we ought not to enable the Crown or its Ministers to get any Servants upon such Terms. If the Country B is to be served by none but such as will agree to betray its Liberties, I had rather chuse, it should not be served at all; for Anarchy is better than an established Tyranny, because from Confusion, Order may be brought forth, whereas from an established Tyranny nothing but irretrievable Oppression is to be expected. Therefore, if it were true, that nothing but lucrative Motives could, in this Country, prevail upon Men to serve their Country, it would with me be no Argument against rendering the Temptation less cogent; because a small Salary may prevail upon a poor Man to serve the Publick, and a poor Man is not so able to support an oppressive Government, as an avaritious or luxurious rich Man may be.

But, Sir, whatever our Ministers may think, whatever bad Opinion they may have of their Countrymen, I have no such Opinion of them. If nothing but honourable Services were required, Men of Honour would engage in the Service of their Country, without any pecuniary Reward; and I do not think it in the least difficult, to introduce such a Custom as would make it dishonourable in any Man of Fortune to desire, or accept of a sordid pecuniary Reward or Salary for any G Service he did, or could do to his Country. To talk of a Man's Right to a pecuniary Reward for serving

his Country, is to talk in that vile mercenary Stile that has been designedly introduced of late Years, in order to propagate ministerial Corruption; but to talk justly, no Man has a Right to a pecuniary Reward for any Service he can do his Country. Sir, the Service of our Country is like the Service of God; when we have done all we can, we have done but our Duty; and no Man can have a Right to a Reward for doing no more than his Duty. The Rewards, therefore, bestowed for publick Service are not what any Man has a Right to demand, but such only as Generosity, Charity, or Prudence may induce the Country to bestow; and I am sure, neither Generosity, Charity, nor Prudence can be pleaded for giving large, or indeed any pecuniary Rewards to those who are already possess'd of too much Riches; and when a Country is itself in the utmost Distress, surely it ought not to grant such high pecuniary Rewards even D to those that stand in need of them, as it may do when it is in affluent Circumstances; but our Conduct in this Country seems to have been directly the contrary; I am sure, it cannot be said that we have been in affluent Circumstances for these E Thirty Years past: I believe, every impartial Man will grant, that we have been for that whole Time in a declining Condition; and yet in that Time we have not only augmented very needlessly the Number of our publick Officers and Servants, but we have greatly augmented the Salaries and Perquisites of many of them. We may easily guess, Sir, with what View these Augmentations were made, and we may be convinced, that the same View now creates an Opposition to their being reduced.

It is not the Danger, Sir, of driving Men of Fortune from the Service of their Country, but the

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Danger of driving Men of Fortune from the Service of Ministers, that creates an Opposition to this Motion; but this is so far from being a Reason for me to oppose it, that A it is one of the strongest Arguments I can think of for agreeing to it. I wish we could drive every Man of Fortune from that Service; for none but Men who are entirely governed by their Avarice or Luxury, will ever enter into the B Service of Ministers upon the Terms they require; and in the Hands of such Men, neither the Counsels, nor the Treasure of the Country can be safe. A poor Man may be honest and faithful, but an avaritious Man will be neither, if he can safely indulge his Avarice by being otherwise: A poor Man may live contented upon a small Salary, but a luxurious Man no Income can satisfy; therefore he will endeavour by any Means to get a Supply. Can we expect, Sir, that either the Coun- D fels or Treasure of our Country will be safe in the Hands of those who, in order to get them into their Hands, have agreed to betray the Liberties of their Country? Sir, if they do not sell the Counsels of their Country, it is because they cannot find a Purchaser; and if they do not convert the Treasure of their Country to their own Use, it is because they are afraid of the Punishment. There is more Danger therefore, with Regard to the publick Counsels or Treasure, in having such Men of Fortune F employed, than in having Men of no Fortune employed in the publick Service; and with Regard to our Liberties, the Danger is infinitely greater; because Men of no Fortune could not betray the Liberties of their Country by getting into Parlia- G ment, nor could they so powerfully assist an oppressing Administration in corrupting our Elections.

For this Reason, Sir, we ought not to provide any Minister with the

Means of tempting the avaritious or luxurious Rich to accept of Places or Employments in the Government; and much smaller Salaries or Profits than are annexed to most of those Places would be a sufficient Temptation, because they would be a sufficient Support for Gentlemen of no Fortune. There is therefore no Weight in the Objection made to this Proposition, that it would drive all Gentlemen of Fortune and Character out of the publick Service; because it would drive no Gentlemen of Fortune out of the publick Service but such as ought not to be allowed to enter into it; at least they ought not to be tempted by lucrative C Considerations to enter into it, especially as long as such Temptations are at the Disposal of our Ministers; and as long as a lucrative Place in the Government is no Objection to a Gentleman's being a Member of this House.

The only other Objection I have heard made to this Proposition is, that it would make but a very small Addition to our publick Revenue, if we make those Exceptions, which Justice and Compassion require: I have already shewn, Sir, that Justice E has nothing to do in the Question, because no Man has a Right to any pecuniary Reward from the Publick; and as to Compassion, it cannot, I am sure, carry us farther than the Hon. Gentleman who made the Motion has mentioned. Suppose then F we except all Salaries and Pensions of 50*l.* a Year and under, will any Gentleman say, that 4*s.* in the Pound upon all Salaries and Pensions above 50*l.* a Year would not produce a very considerable Revenue? I shall not pretend to determine, or even to guess at what it would produce; but I may suppose, that our Salaries and Pensions above 50*l.* a Year amount to at least a *Million Sterling*; if I said *Two*, I believe, I should not be mistaken; but supposing no more

more than one, it would produce an additional annual Revenue of 200,000/. a Year, without any additional Charge; and such an additional Revenue is, I think, far from being inconsiderable, at a Time when our Government finds itself under a Necessity of indulging even the most destructive Vice of the People, in order to raise Money by taxing it.

I shall conclude, Sir, with recommending it to our Ministers and Placemen to shew some Regard to themselves, since I find they will shew none to the People, by whom they subsist, and wallow in Plenty. These Gentlemen must surely be sensible, that a very furious Spirit is rising in this Nation against Place-men of all Ranks and Degrees. If any Calamity should befall the Nation, the Whole of the Blame will be laid upon them, and this may render the Spirit now rising so outrageous as not to be kept within any Bounds. Every Placeman will then be look'd on as a publick Criminal; and the rejecting of this Motion will, I am sure, no Way contribute towards alleviating the Rage of the People. Do these Gentlemen think, that a Deduction from their Salaries would then be thought a sufficient Atonement? They would be look'd on as the Authors of those Measures that had brought all our Calamities upon us. The Words of the Scripture would then be applied to them: They have laid a great Load upon the People, but would not touch it themselves with one of their Fingers. In such a Case, I doubt much if their Persons would be safe. This they ought to think of even for their own Sakes, and if they consider this as they ought, I am sure, they will clearly submit to the double Tax proposed; because their bearing such a great Share of the Burden, would in the Day of Tribulation be some Sort of Excuse for their Conduct. It would be some Sort of Proof, that

they had not involved their Country in a dangerous and expensive War out of mere Wantonness; and an Error in Judgment every reasonable Man will be ready to excuse. I therefore hope, that all such of them as have Seats in this House, will join with me in giving their Affirmative to the Question, and in that Case I should have no Doubt of its Success.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus, who is one of the Members of our Club, having perused a Pamphlet, intitled, A short View of the Frauds, Abuses, and Impositions of Parish Officers, &c, which was published in your Magazine for Jan. and February last; and having afterwards got a Copy of a Bill, intitled, A Bill to regulate the Choice of Churchwardens, and Overseers of the Poor, and to amend some Defects in an Act passed in the 43d Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, intitled, An Act for the Relief of the Poor; which was brought in towards the End of last Session of Parliament, but was not then passed into a Law, he resolved to recommend it to the Consideration of our Club; and for this Purpose, having assumed the Character of Thomas Fonnereau, Esq; he introduced his favourite Bill with a Speech, which was in Substance as follows, viz.

*Mr. President,
S I R,*

I have for some Time had Thoughts of moving you for Leave to bring in a Bill, which, in my Apprehension, would effectually put a Stop to many enormous and clandestine Practices, that affect the Properties of a considerable Part of this Nation. Practices, not only detrimental to the Properties of many, but doubly injurious by the Manner in which they are exercised.

I have deferred making the Motion until this Time, as I am not desirous

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to have such a Bill pass this Session, but only to have it brought in, and committed; in order to have the Blanks filled up, and to move you afterwards for its being printed; that Gentlemen may have Time to consider it at their Leisure in the A Country, and that, if they approve it, it may be moved for early the next Session.

It is the universal Complaint, that we are burdened with Taxes; but of none is the Burden so heavy, as of those which are raised under B the Pretence of their being for the Church and the Poor. These Taxes might be moderate enough, were they raised only for the Purposes pretended; but they are often raised to support a Set of low Oppressors, and to maintain a Number of Peo- C ple in Idleness and Debauchery.

Who so destitute of Humanity as not to be willing to contribute to the Relief of the Poor, the Impotent, and Indigent? But shall we be taxed at the arbitrary Will of D paltry Parish-Officers, the Tools of Justices? Justices, who are in many Places the lowest and meanest of Mankind; who, without the least Share of Honesty or Property, dishonestly, tho' legally, dispose of the Properties of others. But this House has lately shewn its Dislike to such E Sort of Creatures, for Counties at large, and has made it an essential Point, that Justices shall prove themselves possessed at least of a pecuniary Qualification.

But shall Estates in large Parishes, or because it is apprehended they lie within the Jurisdiction of Corporations, be loaded with a Tax of 10 Shillings in the Pound, when two will prove more than sufficient? Must the Industrious be always at Work for the Idle? As the Law now stands, it is in the Power of G two Justices, and a Number of In- habitants of little or no Property, to load the Properties of Landlords, and the more considerable Occupiers,

their Tenants, with a heavy Tax, to which they pay little or nothing themselves.

It is something strange, the Law has so long remained unaltered in relation to one Point, I mean that of leaving to two Justices the Power of appointing Overseers; that is, of chusing Stewards for other Mens Estates. Nothing can account for it to me, but that, in many Places, Justices will yield to Reason; they will suffer the largest Contributors to chuse for themselves, the Persons they think the most proper to be intrusted with their Money. These Justices accept such Persons, and make the Choice of the largest Contributors their own. Here indeed the Evil is not felt.

C But, Sir, in Corporations particularly, I must say it, obstinate and self-sufficient Justices, or Justices who mean to make Advantage of the Power which the Law vests in them, will not yield to Reason. They will appoint whom they please, how disagreeable soever to those on whom the Money is to be raised, to support their own Purposes and the Cheats of their Officers.

No Man should be a Judge in his own Case: But in Corporations, the Appointment of Officers, the Rates, the Accounts, the Appeals, nay, the Appeals from their own Acts, are absolutely in their own Hands and before themselves. And who sees not the Absurdity of this?

F Why shall two Justices chuse Stewards to swallow other Mens Properties? Can it be supposed, that Justices of the Peace will chuse with more Care and Prudence, than Persons on whom the Tax will be levied, and whose Interest it is to chuse the properest Persons to keep the Tax low?

Two Justices not only chuse and appoint Overseers for one Parish, but for several; and may not Justices, for Want of duly knowing

knowing the Circumstances of Parishes, for the Sake of Power, from Partiality, Oppression, Malice, or some private End, appoint improper and dishonest Officers? The Laws relating to the Choice of Parish-Officers are, of all Laws, the most absurd and inconsistent. The People, who have a Right to chuse Members of Parliament, have not a Right to chuse Overseers of the Poor; but the meanest People, who have no Right to chuse Members of Parliament, chuse Church-wardens; and they by 43d Eliz. are Overseers in Course.

As to Overseers, it is right they should be immediately under the Direction of Justices, who are the properst Persons to stand between them and the Poor, whom the Justices ought to protect and secure: But surely the Parishioners, the principal Contributors, are the properst Judges who are the fittest to be intrusted with their Money, and to be under the Direction of the Justices.

Let an honest and impartial Method be established, that will secure the Poor, the People, and their Property; and let impartial Justices, Men of Property, where they are neutral, decide, where Right concerning Property is in question.

The Poors-Tax being high does not so much depend on the Number of Poor as on the Management of Parish-Officers, and on their Management depends the increasing or lessening the Number of the Poor; and the employing them, or letting them remain in Idleness. Overseers appointed by Justices to serve private Ends, must be gratified at somebody's Expence; they will make a Profit of their Office, and their Worships, who put them in, must indulge them: Not at their own Cost, but at the Cost of those, whose Purses they make free with. Their keeping a great Number of Poor in Idleness, at the Expence

of the large Occupiers, is not the greatest Evil. The exorbitant Rates and Accounts of Overseers, allowed and passed by the Justices who appointed them, fall heaviest on those who are chiefly burdened with most other Taxes. Now, if so much depends on the Honesty and good Conduct of Parish-Officers, how necessary is it to secure the Choice of proper ones?

The Tax is not raised by Way of Head-Money, it is rather Land-Money. It is not on the Number of Men that the Money is raised, but on the Value of the Tenement which each Man occupies. If one Man occupies as much as 50 Men, he pays as much as 50 Men. As the Money is raised on the Majority in Value, the Majority in Value should have the Choice of their own Stewards.

The Bill I propose to bring in, to remedy the Grievances which we at present labour under, is formed on the Plan of the Act relating to

D Bankrupts, of the 5th of his present Majesty: A Law that was found absolutely necessary to guard against Frauds and Impositions, to prevent Numbers from over-powering Reason and Value, and to prevent two Men from disposing of the Properties

E of many, by appointing Stewards for Estates at their Will and Pleasure: A Law which has fully answered what was expected from it, and has had the most salutary Effects.

The Design is, to take from two petty Tyrants of Justices, and three F or four Parish-Officers, the Power of directing, awing, and influencing a Number of the meaner Occupiers to come and support them in their unequal Rates and unjust Accounts.

This Method no Ways affects Elections for Members to serve in Parliament; for tho' all will not have equal Votes for Parish-Officers, yet all who are rated to pay, will have Votes for Members of Par-

liament, as before. The Power and Liberties of the People are in Reality by this Method enlarged, by the giving them a Liberty, which they have not at present; that of voting for Overseers in Proportion to what they pay: A Rule that must infallibly A tend to the Good of the Whole, and secure the Properties of all.

It is to reform Abuses, to prove a Check on the Conduct of Parish Officers. In short, it is to turn the Interest of every Parish into its natural Channel.

I therefore move you, Sir, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill to regulate the Choice of Church-war-dens and Oyerseers of the Poor; and to amend some Defects in an Act passed in the 43d Year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, intituled, An Act for the Relief of the Poor.

As we had no Debate upon this Occasion, I shall add nothing more of what was said upon the Subject, but proceed to give you a very famous Debate we had in our Club, upon the 26th of February last; which being one of our Club Days, A. Sellius stood up, and in the Character of Major Selwyn, spoke to this Effect.

Mr. President,
SIR,

I Should not have trespass'd upon you, Sir, at this Time, had I not been importun'd by many without Doors, and not by a few from almost every Corner within; and although I may have less Reason to confide in my own Abilities than any other Member of this House, yet if I was ten Times more unequal to the Task I am going to undertake, I should have Resolution enough to attempt it: After so many Solicitations, however others may account for their Silence in a Matter of the greatest Importance to this Kingdom, yet I am one of those that

cannot. Human Nature, Sir, is liable to err, and if I should happen to err in the present Case, I flatter myself the Error will be of the right Side, because I shall err with the People. No Nation was ever yet unhappy engag'd in a War, without being subject to such Calamities as are but too grievous in their own Nature to admit of any other than what are usual and unavoidable: So that if the People are still unable to brook their being disappointed of

B a glorious Victory over the Spaniards in the Mediterranean, it is the less to be wonder'd at, since it was strongly suspected, that an evil Genius ruled the Vice-Admiral's Helm. And supposing that to have been the Case, he might as well have furl'd all his C Sails as not to have bore down upon the Enemy, in Aid of his gallant Leader, so apparently overpower'd and in Distress; therefore, if it is possible to produce you a Briton suspected of being so far actuated by Pique or Resentment, as to prostitute D the Honour and Dignity of a Force ever formidable to all that have hitherto contended with it: If it is but the general Rumour, that the sacrificing of a Superior was a Passion more predominant in him than a Zeal for the Service of his Country, why E then let him have the earliest Day to clear himself of such an Imputation:

An Imputation of such Barbarity and Dishonour, give me Leave to tell you, Sir, is not so eligible as Death itself! It is therefore for the Sake of doing common Justice to the Characters of those concern'd, I chiefly rise, and shall close what I have to offer with a Motion to obtain what ought to be set in the truest and most publick Light.

These, Sir, are the Sentiments of the People without Doors, and that the Power of Court-Martials, or other inferior Courts, is not extensive enough to procure such Evidence as may be requisite to enlighten them in

in a Matter of so nice a Nature, as is that of Character, without your Aid and Indulgence. Sir, the French have one general Maxim amongst them, which they seldom fail of putting in Execution, whenever it serves their Turn; and that is, to betray all those who depend upon them; therefore it was, that they deserted and bore away from the Spanish Fleet off *Toulon*, which gave ours such an Advantage over them, as is hardly to be thought of or express'd with common Temper, because it is highly improbable that an Opportunity can ever happen again so much to our Advantage; nevertheless, is it not fit that the People should be inform'd, how we came to lose this Opportunity, at a Time when great Matters were expected, after a vast Expence, when instead of acquiring Honour and Glory to this Nation, alas! our bright Sunshine was suddenly eclips'd in a Cloud of Infamy and Reproach?

Sir, although those who have the Honour to serve by Sea or Land, D may wear the Livery of the Crown, they are still but the Servants of the State; in that Light their Conduct, as well as their Grievances, come within our Cognizance, and every individual Man of them may be accordingly rewarded or stigmatiz'd by us, who are not only the Grand Council of the Nation, but the Grand Inquest too: So that whenever we enquire into a Breach of Trust or Neglect, thus notoriously grievous to the Community; we then do what? Why, just no more than move within our proper Sphere; as it is one of the first and principal Articles of our Institution; the Taxation of the Subject being but a secondary Consideration; although our modern Complaisance has given it the Preference of all others, yet we G may do it or let it alone; and when our Ancestors refus'd to come into the Supply upon some particular Oc-

casions, they were in the Right of it: It was to their eternal Honour and Renown, and we at this Day enjoy the Benefits of that laudable Spirit.

Sir, I wish what is remark'd of us by Strangers, was not quite so true, A that if *England* was but so faithfully serv'd as *France*, and other Countries, we might give Laws to the Continent; for who pays better, but who punishes less than we do? And that is the Reason why we have been so often betray'd both abroad and at B home; why we are always so liable to be ill serv'd. Was there ever a State Vulture brought to a Reckoning, that pleaded the general Issue? No, but on the contrary obliquely own'd the Bill, by recriminating upon his Predecessors, and that he C had done nothing but what was the known Practice of those that went before him. Thus even criminal Precedents are the Pleas the People of this Nation are but too shamefully fond of; yet, God be thanked! such Pleas are but too mean and contemptible in their own Nature, to be admitted of, in the most inferior Courts of Justice; why then should they prevail at a more solemn Tribunal?

Sir, it must be allow'd, that amongst Foreigners the *Amor Patriæ* E is strongly imbib'd by them. We call it publick Spirit, but, alas! who is it among us that may venture openly to avow that Principle? In this degenerate, immoral Age, a Man may boast of his Honour and Virtue; nay, he may pretend to something still more extraordinary; he may pretend to Patriotism; but which of us, I pray you, Sir, has not observ'd what a wretched, pitiful Figure party Patriotism has made for three Years last past? Whereas true Patriotism was never yet confin'd or attach'd to any Side, or to any Set of Men whatsoever. No, that Principle constantly pursues such Measures, as strike the Mind with an Indifferency to Persons

Persons, cautious only with Respect to Things.

Sir, it is but a melancholy Circumstance to reflect upon, that if the major Part of our Fleet in the *Mediterranean* had done their respective Duties, or exerted themselves in any Proportion with the honourable Gentleman that commanded, and his Second, whose Loss to this Nation can never be too much lamented, in all Probability we had not yet been at War with *France*; because nothing is more plain and obvious to me, than that the *French* design'd we should have destroy'd the *Spanish* Fleet; nay, they were surpriz'd that thirteen of our Ships of the Line should be kept at Bay by only five of the *Spanish* Fleet, neglected and in a Manner deserted by their Allies; for which Neglect, tho' attended with no ill Consequences, the *French* Admiral was rebuk'd at his Return home, by Way of Compliment to the *Spanish* Court.

If this Miscarriage is not enquir'd into, I dread its Consequences during the Course of this War; a Miscarriage, Sir, that has brought such a Disgrace upon the Flag of *England*, that Flag, Sir, which never flew before upon the Ocean without carrying Terror with it to every maritime Power, but is now become the Scoff, the By-word of *France*, whose People shake their Heads at it, and at this Day, they serve up the Action near *Toulon*, as a Burlesque Entertainment upon the several Stages of their Playhouses.

Surely, Sir, such a Slur upon the Credit of our naval Force hath made a Wound, for which nothing less than a Consultation of the whole House can point out the most expeditious Remedy: If we neglect this, I prophesy, that your next Campaign in *Flanders* will furnish the *French* with fresh Materials, sufficient to compleat another Drama. I ought to know the Difference, Sir, and I

may with Confidence assert, that the martial Spirit of this Nation is far from being wound up to that heroick Pitch it was at during the last War, either by Sea or Land, although we are at full as great an Expence, with a much less formidable Alliance. Sir, Examples were always of greater Weight than Precepts; for if Offenders are still to escape with Impunity, I doubt, in these our Days, there are but few, yea, very few, that will fear the Violation of Trust, Honour, or Virtue; and therefore, I humbly move, Sir, That it be referred to a Committee, to inquire into the Cause of the Miscarriage of his Majesty's Fleet in the Action, last Year, near *Toulon*, in the *Mediterranean*, against the combined Fleets of *France* and *Spain*.

This Motion was seconded by A. Cornelius Cossus, who, in the Character of Velters Cornwall, Esq; spoke in Substance as follows.

Mr. President,
SIR,

MY Duty to my Country, and my Duty to my nearest and dearest Relation, force me up to second the Motion that the worthy Gentleman behind me has so properly made you; but I must always call the Day he has mention'd cruel as well as honourable: However, His saltem accumulem donis, et fungari inani

Munere —

And to say the Truth, Sir, the Hon. Gentleman and I have frequently before now intended to move a Question of this Sort, but we have as often expected it to come from more able Gentlemen now in my Eye, as one Condition sine qua non, of their Change of Situation; more than Half of the Session is lapsed, and not one of these Conditions is fulfill'd.

Sir,

Sir, almost all the Money is given that not only the most believing, and most sanguine Country Gentlemen can raise, but that the most devoted Courtier can ask, but not a single Grievance has been redress'd; should not these, Sir, and our Supplies proceed *pari passu*? Let us therefore, for Shame! make a Beginning with this; and as it cannot be redress'd but by Inquiry, let us now exercise one of our fundamental Rights, which our Infatuation (not Corruption, to be sure) has so long suspended, that 'tis almost lost.

There's not a Man in the Nation who does not know, in his private Capacity, that there has been great Misconduct, nay, Cowardice, somewhere or other in the Commanders of this *English* Armada. Should not then, Sir, even our Ministers themselves have laid the Whole before Parliament? But which of us, in his publick Capacity here, has heard a Word of it? Do none of our Ministers recollect what was done when the Duke of York commanded, in the Time of King Charles the II^d; and Admiral Russel, in that of King William? And these, Sir, were in some Sort Victories; for altho' in the former, the Dutch burnt some of our Ships at *Chatham*, yet before they got back, we sunk and destroy'd twenty of their capital Ships, tho' superior to us in Number; and altho' in the latter, we destroy'd sixteen of the French Men of War, for which the Admiral had the Thanks of both Houses, and was created Earl of Torrington, yet, Sir, those Princes were advis'd, unaddress'd, to lay these Matters upon your Table; and I read in your Journals, that Censures were pass'd on particular Parts of these Transactions.

But now, Sir, tho' more than a Twelvemonth ago, forty Ships of England made, with Difficulty, a drawn Battle of it against 30 of the Combined Fleets, yet the Parliament

of England is told nothing, nor has ask'd a single Question concerning it.

Therefore, for God's Sake, Sir, for the Sake of common Sense, as well as Justice and our own Honour, let this Inquiry be hastened, and I shall, for the Sake of Form, trouble you with two subsequent Motions, viz. That it may be a Committee of the whole House; and next, That this House do, on this Day Fortnight, resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House upon this Matter. Our Journals justify the Form and Method of Proceeding; and if any Gentleman has Objections to the Thing, I hope, I shall be permitted to enter the Lists with him; for tho' on any other Subject I should be soon vanquish'd, yet on this self-evident Proposition, I cannot but think of obtaining a compleat Victory.

The next that spoke in this Debate was Servilius Priscus, in the Character of Henry Pelham, Esq; the Purport of whose Speech was as follows, viz.

*Mr. President,
S I R,*

I Do not rise up to justify the Conduct of any of our Admirals, or other Officers concerned in the Action near *Toulon*, nor shall I be so rash as to condemn any of them unheard. I shall admit, that considering the Superiority we had over the Enemy in Number, and Strength of Ships, the Nation had Reason to expect a much more decisive Action in our Favour; but in Engagements at Sea, as well as Land, there are numberless Accidents that may deprive us of Victory, without any bad Conduct, and that even when we have the greatest Reason to expect making our Victory compleat. Upon that Occasion it must be allowed, we obtained a Victory, tho' it was far from being so compleat as we

we had Reason to expect. Whether our Disappointment was owing to Disobedience, Cowardice, bad Conduct, or Accident, I shall not take upon me to determine, nor do I think it a Question proper for this House to inquire into; and this, Sir, A is what calls me up upon this Occasion. The Motion now made is, I am sensible, a very popular one; but I have three very material Objections to its being agreed to. In the first Place, I think, it would be an Incroachment upon the Prerogatives of the Crown: In the next, I think it would be below the Dignity of this House, because it would be descending to take upon us what properly belongs to one of our inferior Courts: And in the third Place, it would be a Breach of one of the C most equitable and known Maxims of our Constitution, that no Man ought to be subjected to two Trials for one and the same Fact.

As to the Prerogatives of the Crown, Sir, I hope it will be granted, that as the executive Part of our Government is lodged in the Crown, all Crimes ought to be tried in the King's Courts. In Cases of an extraordinary Nature, indeed, where the Criminals have been so artful as to guard against any Conviction by the ordinary E Methods of Trial, or where they are so high in the King's Favour, that no Justice is to be expected, nor any strict Prosecution, in the King's Courts, the Parliament may then interpose, and may proceed against such Criminals either by F Impeachment, Bill of Attainder, or Bill of Pains and Penalties, as a Foundation for which, a previous Inquiry may be sometimes necessary. But is there any Thing like this, in the Case now before us? A Trial before a Court-Martial, ap- G pointed by the King for that Purpose, is the proper Method established by our Constitution, for try-

ing and punishing any Officer in our Army or Navy, who shall be guilty of Disobedience, Cowardice, or any other Crime in his military Capacity. Can it be said, that any of the Officers who had the Command of our Squadron in the Mediterranean, have been so artful as to elude any Conviction before a Court-Martial, if they have been guilty either of Disobedience or Cowardice? Can it be said, that any of them are so high in the B King's Favour, that no Justice is to be expected against them, in a Court-Martial appointed by the King? Sir, I have never heard any such Thing so much as pretended: If any of them have been guilty of a military Crime, they may, they certainly will be tried and punished for it by a Court-Martial, according to the usual Method prescribed in such Cases by our Constitution; and if they have been guilty of such Misconduct as evidently shews, that they ought never to be again trusted with such a Command, the King is the sole Judge, and no Man who knows any Thing of his Majesty's true Regard and ardent Zeal for the publick Service, can suppose, that he will neglect to inquire into the Conduct of every Officer he employs, or that he will ever again employ an Officer whose Capacity has been once found to be deficient.

For these Reasons, Sir, I must look upon the Inquiry now proposed, as an Incroachment upon the Prerogative of the Crown; and, I think, it is descending very much beneath our Dignity. National Grievances may deserve the Notice of this august Assembly; but provincial or particular Nuisances are only fit for the Presentment of a Grand-Jury: So Ministers of State, and other Counsellors to our Sovereign, are the proper Objects of our Inquiry, when they are suspected of having

having given bad Advice to their Master; or of having betrayed the Counsels, or incroached upon the Liberties of their Country; but lower Criminals ought to be left to the Correction of inferior Courts. We may, I think, with equal Dignity and Propriety, usurp the Business of the *King's-Bench*, by inquiring into the Conduct of a Man who is suspected of Murder, Burglary, or Larceny, as to usurp the Business of a Court-Martial, by inquiring into the Conduct of an Officer who is suspected of Cowardice or Disobedience. Criminals of this Sort, Sir, are a Game too low for this Assembly to fly at. If they should be unjustly acquitted or condemned, we might, without going out of our Province, inquire into the Conduct, and punish the Injustice of the Judges, because an unjust Judge is a national Grievance; but as to the Criminal himself, even supposing he had been acquitted through evident Partiality, we could not properly bring him again upon his Trial by any parliamentary Prosecution; because it would be a Breach of that Maxim in our Government, that no Man is to be subjected to two Trials for one and the same Fact or Crime.

This brings me, Sir, to the third Objection I have mentioned, which is, That by the Inquiry now proposed, the Gentlemen whose Conduct is to be the Subject of our Inquiry, might be subjected to two Trials, before two different Judicatures, for one and the same Crime. F That this would be the Consequence must be acknowledged; or otherwise it must be acknowledged, that such an Inquiry would be a direct Attack upon one of the best known Prerogatives of the Crown. That the King has a Power to try G and punish, by Means of a Court-Martial, any Officer in his Army or Navy, who has been guilty of

any Crime in his military Capacity, will, I believe, be universally admitted: Suppose then, we should agree to this Inquiry, and that upon such Inquiry the Conduct of all these Officers should be approved of, would this preclude the King from trying any of them afterwards by a Court-Martial? If this Question be answered in the Affirmative, then I will say, that such an Inquiry would be a direct Attack upon one of the best known Prerogatives of the Crown, and might be the Cause of very great Confusion in our Army; for if a Gentleman, who had a great Interest and many Friends in this Assembly, should be guilty of Mutiny, he might get an Inquiry into his Conduct set on foot here, on Purpose to prevent his being tried and condemned by a Court-Martial. But if the Question I have asked, should be answered in the Negative, then it must be granted, that after these Gentlemen have gone through an Inquiry in this House, they may be again tried for the same Facts or supposed Crimes by a Court-Martial; and, consequently the Inquiry now proposed will be a Breaking in upon the Maxim of never subjecting a Man to two Trials for one and the same Fact, which is, in my Opinion, one of the best Maxims in our Government, and one of the most favourable for the Subject, therefore, I hope, it never will be departed from.

There is another Reason, Sir, that shall always make me shy of bringing the Conduct of any Officer before this House; for popular Assemblies, generally in such Cases, rather try the Fortune than the Conduct of the Commander. They make no Allowances for human Weakness, when an Army or Squadron happens to meet with a Misfortune; whereas Success will with them cover the greatest Folly and maddest Rashness, or the most glaring In-

stances of Misconduct. I shall grant, Sir, that this House has been less guilty of such Extravagances than any other popular Assembly we read of; but yet it has seldom happened, that ever any Officer's Conduct, when inquired into by this House, came off without some Censure at last; and I do not find, that we ever inquired into the Conduct of any Officer that came off with Success in an Engagement, or warlike Expedition, tho' our Histories inform us, that in many Encounters, our Commanders came off Victors, when by their bad Conduct, or rash Attempt, they deserved to have been soundly beat. I must, therefore, be of Opinion, that in such Cases a Council of War, or a Court-Martial, appointed by the King, who has certainly an Interest in being prudently as well as faithfully served, is a more proper Tribunal for examining into the Conduct of any warlike Expedition, than this House can pretend to be; for many of us are certainly not duly qualified for being Judges in any such Case, and those who have neither Knowledge nor Experience to judge of the Matter before them, must be guided in their Judgments by Authority, by general Clamour, by private Passion, or by something that is not Reason.

What I now say, Sir, may, perhaps, seem strange to many Gentlemen that hear me: They may think, that common Sense and Reason are sufficient for judging of the Conduct of a Sea Engagement; but if this Motion be agreed to, and the Inquiry entered upon, they will soon be convinced of the Truth of what I say. Most of us, I believe, will soon find ourselves in a Labyrinth, when we begin to hear the Evidence of our Seamen upon this Subject. So far from understanding the Matter, very few of us will understand the Language; therefore, before we enter into the Inquiry proposed, I

think, we should order a Dictionary of Sea Terms to be composed, and such a Number of Copies to be printed as may be sufficient for the Members of the House. But when we have done this, and when every Member has made himself so much Master of this Dictionary, as to be able to understand the Language of the Witnesses, how shall we judge whether the Orders given were proper, or whether it was possible to comply with them? If we trust to the Opinion of the Witnesses that are to be examined, we may depend upon it, and I shall not scruple to prophesy, that we shall find it to be, So many Men, so many Minds: Every Seaman will give his Opinion, and his Reasons for his Opinion; but how shall Gentlemen who never were at Sea, judge of his Reasons? And if we cannot judge of his Reasons, by what Rule shall we prefer the Opinion of one Seaman to another? These Considerations, Sir, furnish me with another very strong Argument against the Motion; because from them I am convinced, that it will be impossible for us, by such an Inquiry, to give any Satisfaction to the People, to gain any Honour to ourselves, or to do any Justice to the Gentlemen whose Conduct we are to inquire into. Therefore, in the Light I behold this Motion at present, I cannot approve of it, but shall suspend my Judgment till I hear what other Gentlemen say upon the Subject.

F The next that stood up was Mecenas, who spoke, in the Character of Geo. Lyttleton, Esq; to this Effect.

Mr. President,
SIR,

M Y Hon. Friend near me, has so fully shewn the Irregularity, Inconvenience, and Inutility of our going into the Inquiry proposed, that I can add but very little to what has

has been so well said by him upon the Subject; but as I consider this Motion not only as an Attack upon the known Prerogatives of the Crown, but as an Attempt against the Dignity of this House, I think myself obliged to give my Testimony A in the most open Manner against it. The sole and supreme Command of our Armies both by Sea and Land is, I think, one of the most known, and one of the most necessary Prerogatives of the Crown. We have been for many Years paring down B the Power of the Crown, and many of those Parings, I shall grant, were necessary, because they were but useless or dangerous Excrescences, that had been made to grow up by the Art of Ministers; but if you cut away from the Crown its Power C over our Armies either by Sea or Land, you cut away that in which its very Essence consists; and should you once go this Length, I should expect, in a short Time, to see the Royal Dignity voted useless, as the other House was about a Century ago.

Now, Sir, I should be glad to know, what more direct, what more effectual Method can be taken, for stripping the Crown of its Power over our Armies, than that of our taking into our Hands the Power of punishing and rewarding our Officers and Commanders. The next Step would certainly be, our taking into our Hands the Power of appointing and preferring them; and then we might, whenever we pleased, vote both the regal Dignity and the House D of Lords to be useless Incumbrances upon the Government of these Kingdoms. These, I say, would be natural Consequences of our taking into our Hands the Power of punishing and rewarding the Officers and Commanders of our Armies; and I submit to the Judgment of Gentlemen who have a Regard for our present happy Establishment, whether the Motion now before us is not a direct

Step towards our assuming such a Power. If parliamentary Inquiries into the Conduct and Behaviour of our Officers, should once be introduced, it would signify nothing to an Officer, to approve himself a brave, a prudent, and a faithful Servant to his Sovereign; if he did not manifest himself to be a ready and obedient Servant to a Majority, perhaps a republican Majority in this House, an Inquiry into some Part of his Conduct would be set on Foot, and by the Issue of that Inquiry he would find himself dismissed the Service, perhaps banished his Country. On the other Hand, if an Officer should be dismissed by his Majesty, as a Stirrer up of Mutiny and Sedition, or as a Promoter of republican Principles, as such an Officer would of Course be a Favourite with such a Majority in Parliament, an Inquiry into the Causes of his Dismissal would certainly be set on Foot, and upon that Inquiry the King might be obliged, under Pain D of having no Supplies granted, not only to restore such an Officer to his Commission, but to punish, or, at least, remove those who were the Cause of his being dismissed. One Example of each of these Kinds would entirely change the Dependence of the Officers, both of our Fleets and Armies: They would no longer trust to, or depend upon the Crown for their Commissions or Preferment, but upon the House of Commons; and, I am very sure, a House of Commons that would give such a Stab as this to the Royal Dignity, would shew very little Regard to it in any other Particular: They would take every Opportunity to render it contemptible, that when they had rendered it sufficiently contemptible, they might easily lay it aside.

G Sir, I know how unacceptable a Thing it is to talk against the Power of this House, or to say, we have not a Power to do whatever we will;

P p 2 but

but it is certain, that every one of the three Branches of our Legislature has its proper Powers. To the Power of the three together no Boundary is, or can be set, but by God Almighty; but to the Power of each separately, there is, by our Constitution, a Boundary prescribed; and when any one of the three exceeds that Boundary, not only the other two, but the People have Reason to complain, because the Happiness of the People depends upon the Preservation and Observance of that Boundary. It must be confessed, that this House has several Times, of late Years, exceeded this Boundary: By leaping over all Boundaries about a Century ago, the Members of this House brought most terrible Calamities upon the Nation, and were, at last, by one of those remarkable Turns of Providence, themselves turned out of Doors, by the Creatures of their own begetting. In King Charles the II's Time, we began again to exceed those Boundaries which our Constitution has prescribed, I mean in the Case of what was then called *The Abhorvers*; and by so doing, we raised such a Spirit among the People against our Proceedings, that we found, at last, we durst not venture to enforce an Obedience to our own Orders; even *Magna Charta* itself was pleaded against us. In King William's Time we likewise began to get a little out of our due Limits, with regard to the Lords then under Prosecution for having advised the Partition Treaty, which produced the famous *Kentish Petition*, and the Legion Letter and Memorial; in which Memorial, we were accused of discountenancing the legal Prosecution of Offenders in the ordinary Course of Law.

This, Sir, was one of the Accusations brought against us at that Time; and if we proceed to the Inquiry proposed, I very much ap-

prehend, that the same Accusation will be brought against us by the People without Doors upon this Occasion. A Court-Martial is already ordered to examine into the Conduct of all those Officers who are accused of any Failure in Duty, in the Action near *Toulon*. This Court-Martial will proceed to Business, as soon as the proper and necessary Witnesses are come home; but if you proceed to an Inquiry, this Court-Martial cannot begin; and if your Inquiry should end, as I am persuaded it will, without the Discovery of any Crime, or the Punishment of any Criminal, the People will certainly accuse you of having discountenanced the legal Prosecution of Offenders in the ordinary Course of Law.

I have said, Sir, that I am persuaded, your Inquiry will end without the Discovery of any Crime, or the Punishment of any Offender. My Reasons for being persuaded of this are, because all the necessary Witnesses are not yet arrived, nor can arrive before your Inquiry must be put an End to by a Prorogation; and, because, if they were all arrived, it would be impossible for Gentlemen, who understand nothing of Sea Affairs, to determine what is, or what is not criminal, in the Conduct of a Squadron, or a Ship of War. If we give any Judgment, the Judgment of most of us must be founded upon the Authority of those who understand Sea Affairs; and whatever other Gentlemen may do, I shall never, as a Judge, condemn a Man as a Criminal, upon the Authority of any other Person whatever. On the contrary, as every Man is to be supposed innocent till he is found to be guilty, I should give my Negative to the Sentence, unless I were, from my own Knowledge and Judgment, fully convinced of his being guilty. I from hence foresee, Sir, that upon the Inquiry proposed, we must, at least the greatest

est Part of us must, commit an Act of Injustice, or forfeit our Credit with the People. If we condemn any of those Officers without being in our own Minds, and from our own Judgment, convinced of their Guilt, we commit an Act of Injustice: If we acquit them all, we shall be accused of having discountenanced the legal Prosecution of Offenders in the ordinary Course of Law. One of these must be the Consequence of our entering upon this Inquiry; and in either Case we shall very much derogate from our Dignity, and from that Character which we ought to maintain among the People without Doors; therefore, I wish no such Question had been moved, because, I think, it will be dangerous for us either to agree or disagree to the Motion.

[This DEBATE and JOURNAL to be continued in our next.]

W^estminster Journal, June 1. N^o 183.

How France has deluded all her Neighbours, and does still delude some of them: And what is the Interest of Great Britain in this Conjunction.

Mr. Touchit,

I Frankly own I do not pretend to know, who is the proper Person, and who has most Right to be Emperor of Germany. All I find wanting amongst that Body is Unanimity; and this taking Place amongst them, what matters who is Emperor? For by that Means they might all have a Slap at the common Enemy, and each receive for his proper Reward something more firm than imaginary Honours, more substantial than a Title.

Had Prussia, upon the Decease of the Emperor Charles VI, instead of running to the Game of Hazard,

and palming his false Dice on the Queen of Hungary, stood to what he pretended, possibly he might e'er now have reap'd the Reward of Integrity, and his Subjects at this Day might have been enjoying the Blessings of Peace: But some say it is not over with him yet; that he is still under the Delusion of French Promises, and inclined to add to his former Character the glorious one of being *obstinate*.

France, by Turns, has deluded all her Neighbours, none of which have open'd their Eyes till at least *full late*.

Prussia, by her Intrigues, is persuaded, as it were, to take a Nap, to remain inactive; tho' sensible that France, not long since, put a Snake into her very Bosom, a *Cetardie*. (See our Mag. for 1744, p. 364.)

England could not see the Repairs of Dunkirk; the Men work'd seemingly in a Cloud, and nothing was discover'd till the whole Fabrick was compleat; then, and then only, its Strength appear'd, and its Fortifications manifestly surpass'd all that were before them.

Holland, and I think England too, may be said to have had their Eyes shut at the Time when France first pour'd her Troops into Germany; a Time when the whole Germanick Body may be said to have been in a *dead Sleep*, a *Trance*; and from which they have not as yet rightly recover'd. England indeed has open'd her Eyes since; but some now say *too soon*, considering that after various Shruggings of the Shoulders, after sundry Rollings on this Side and on that, after abundance of Gapings and Yawnings, Holland is but just awake, has but just open'd her Ears, and having given her Attention to the brave English Sentiments, deliver'd by the Mouth of a Ch—ft—rf—ld, is represented in the *staring Order*.— May Providence evince 'tis not *too late*.

Spain

Spain has been slumbering and dozing for a long long Time, and pelting about in a surprizing Manner for a Settlement, a *Crown* for her third Son,* (*Ambition! where will thy Prospect end?*) still relying on, and still being deceived by, the Promises of *France*, who in all likelihood never intended, and in Policy will not send Succours sufficient to answer such her Expectations, till she herself, *France*, is posses'd of what she seeks for.

Spain is sufficiently grand in the Eyes of *France*, and blind enough not to see that she is only encourag'd to continue the War with *Great Britain*, that *France* may gain her own Ends, and that the said *France* will never effectually help her to any Thing without a proper Equivalent. Let *France* but come to a quiet Possession of the *Low Countries*, and any reasonable Acquisition (reasonable in the Eyes of *France* tho') shall be made for the third Son of *Spain*, provided pleasing Advantages in the *West-Indies* be likewise the Price thereof.

Those pleasing Advantages taking Place, will be introductory to others of like Nature; nor will *France* be content even with her favourite Neighbour, *Spain*, till she hath cajol'd her out of at least the most valuable of her *American* Possessions.

Is it impossible to open the Eyes of *Spain*, that she may behold this? Is it impossible to convince her that *Great Britain* wants none of her Possessions, none of her Properties; wants nothing but a free and an open F Trade? To convince her that *Great Britain* ought to be, and is, strenuously inclined to be her firm and

stedfast Ally?—An Ally which has the Power, and, if justly and honourably dealt by, would exert it in Defence of her and her Possessions against—the World †. Is it impossible to persuade her, that every Sentiment she entertains contrary to this, arises from her very evil Genius, her pretended Friend, but false and treacherous Enemy?

Let *Spain* give Laws to her own Subjects, and let them thence perform her Will; let them traffick only as she enjoins; but let *Great Britain* always have the Liberty of the open Seas, and the Privilege of a friendly Entrance into any Port, when Occasion shall require.

Strange Madness! that *England* should be expected to make Laws to restrain her Sons from a free and open Commerce, and a safe Entrance into Harbours: She doth not, neither will she ever permit her Children to commit Violences on her Neighbours; and as for the rest, it behoves every Neighbour to be furnish'd with Laws sufficient for themselves.

I assure you, Sir, nothing that I have said proceeds from a *Spaniſh* Interest, but purely from this Nation, That a firm, honest, and honourable Peace with *Spain* would be reciprocally for the Advantage of both Nations.

I hope none will mistake me when I say, *England* has open'd her Eyes, as some think, *too soon*; my Thoughts being on that Occasion entirely fixt on the *Continent*: But when, O when will she open her Eyes effectually! when behold her *Trade*, her *Support*, actually and sufficiently protected, and her *Commerce* enlarg'd! when

* *Don Philip, the second Son to the Queen of Spain, is but third to the King, who had the Prince of Asturias by a former Wife.* + *I am strongly of Opinion, that Spain would be easily convinced of this, if some one of our Squadrons would honestly and in earnest search out a French one, and hang them.—But let's have none of your Com— that will run into the Gang-way, and bide themselves behind the Mast, &c., &c., &c. Till this is effectually done, we may depend upon it, that French Delusion will be prevalent at the Court of Madrid, and our Friendship look'd upon as not worthy their Regard.*

Her mercantile Sons freed from the uneasy Apprehensions, nay more, the Power of *French* Squadrons! And when will the Time be, that their Privateers shall dread to look beyond the Entrance of their Ports?

I am, Sir, &c.

I see no Reason (says Mr. Touchit) to dissent from my worthy Friend. Our Concern in the Election of an Emperor of *Germany* is, to have such a Prince as may of himself be most capable to obstruct the too manifest Designs of *France*, and to unite the other Powers of the *Germanick* Body in the same Design. I said the same Thing upon the Death of *Charles VI*, and argued in Support of the Grand Duke's Pretensions with no other View.

As to the Influence of *France* upon the other Princes, our Interest is to find wherein it consists, and how to prevent it. This, I imagine, might be much easier than it is at present, if there was not another Interest too much consider'd, and too much connected with that of *England*, which, instead of co-operating with, is an eternal Clog upon our best Intentions and Provisions.

From this Principle it is, that while I write for the Security of my Country, and against *France* her natural Enemy, I am oblig'd to distinguish between *English* Measures, (unhappily, but from too manifest Causes) pursued by *English* M——rs, and what I look upon to be the true Interest of *England*. Here lies the whole Difference: Let us contribute all in our Power to weaken *France*, but let us not, under that Pretence, exhaust our Bowels in the Pursuit of improper Means.

The *Dutch*, the *Hessian*, nay, I believe heartily, the *Palatine*, and even the *Prussian*, would be glad to join us, if they saw the true Sentiments of the People of *England* invariably pursued in a War against

France. These Sentiments would lead us to distress her where Nature has given us Force; which if we did, I doubt not but the Powers on the Continent, at least with a little of our Money, in Comparison of A what we now squander, would be able to do their own Business.

But we are too busy out of our proper Element; we are too apprehensive for a petty State that concerns us no more than any other petty State in the same Confederacy: We cannot do every Thing; and hence arises our Misfortunes.

Spain, in Pursuit of this natural Plan, would be a most useful and interested Ally. We went to War with her only to secure our Trade, and in Hopes of a speedy and good Peace. We all thought, we all still think, this might have been obtain'd by a few vigorous and uniform Measures: Why it was not, is a Question too perplex'd to be here again discuss'd. But I still think, that some such Scheme as is above proposed, D to make her weary of *France*, might succeed; and that a Settlement for *Don Philip* (which is all his Mother wants) might be promised at the Ex pense of our *worst Enemy*, upon as plausible Terms as it can be now expected, after so many Disappointments, any where else. If our Politicians would try this Expedient, I would venture to prove the Attempt not absurd, even tho' an Obstinacy beyond Example should defeat the Success.

Craftsman, June 1. № 983.

An impartial Distribution of Rewards and Punishments necessary in a State: With some Thoughts on the late Mediterranean Affair.

A Neglect in those, who hold the Sword of Justice, to punish Offenders, is equally as hurtful and culpable as denying Rewards to Virtue. One of the great Ends of Go-

Government is defeated, if Men who deserve well of their Country only reap the common Advantages of their Stations, without any singular Marks of Favour, and if at the same Time Men, who have by Acts of Cowardice or Treachery abused their Trust, are suffer'd to enjoy the same Benefits of their Offices without incurring any corporal or pecuniary Punishments. There are in most Ages some Persons who are inflexibly bent on the Pursuit of Right, in Opposition to all Discouragements, who, tho' they see Villany rewarded, will not depart from their Principles of Conduct, will nevertheless be just to the Relations in which they stand to Society; but, tho' there are some few Men of this laudable Cast of Mind, yet such a Negligence in punishing Offenders, and in peculiarly rewarding the Meritorious, is enough to make Virtue sicken and flag in the Chace of Honour: It will not make Virtue change her Nature; but it may, and indeed will, render her less arduous in the Toils of Glory.

That this Nation has suffer'd greatly, both in her Interests and Reputation, by the fatal Miscarriage in the *Mediterranean*, is too generally allow'd, to be the Subject of Dispute: And, whatever Differences were betwixt Mr. *L—k* and Mr. *M—s* preceding that Expedition, they as *Englishmen* embark'd in one great and important Cause, as Servants to the Publick by whom they were entrusted with the Welfare, I may say, with the very Glory, of this Isle; and if it can be proved that both, or either of them, indulged their personal Resentments to the manifest Detriment of these Kingdoms, a Deprivation of their Employments is a Punishment not in the least adequate to their Guilt. From what has been publish'd on undoubted Authority, we may pass a Judgment, tho' not a competent one, on their

Conduct. It is evident, that Mr. *M—s* began at his first Meeting with Mr. *L—k* to give Indications of a partial and inveterate Rancour before several *Sardinian* Officers of Rank, and Captains of the *British* Fleet: He immediately superseded Mr. *L—k*'s Officers, such as had been made by him, and among them even his Secretary. Let us view this Conduct with impartial Eyes, and we must discover an Animosity that gave no fair Prospect of a cordial Union betwixt these two Officers, with whom almost the Fate of *Europe* was entrusted. Now we are to examine into their Conduct in the Time of Action: We are in that Particular satisfy'd that Mr. *M—s* fought, and fought bravely, and Mr. *L—k* did not fight: And we are told that after the Engagement was over, Mr. *L—k* would have given Chace to the maim'd Ships of the Enemy, and that he was call'd off by Mr. *M—s*.

After viewing these Facts in the Light in which I have placed them, and in which they are admitted by the Persons concern'd, an Examination into the Motives of the Conduct of these Gentlemen in these Particulars is necessary; which is the Business of a Court solemnly appointed for that Purpose. If Mr. *M—s* superseded Mr. *L—k*'s Officers, for no other Reason but what private Resentment suggested, he is inexcusably culpable; and if Mr. *L—k*, who never was accused of Want of Courage or Knowledge, refrained from fighting from no other Motive but what arose from his private Resentment, he therein sacrificed to his selfish Passions the Interest and Honour of his injured Country, and the Dignity of his Royal Master: And if this shall be proved, the Vengeance due to Treachery is due to him: And if Mr. *M—s* had nothing but the Continuance of indulging his personal Hatred to Mr. *L—k*

L—*k* in View, by calling him from the Chace, he is equally involved in the Guilt of sacrificing to his private Quarrels the publick Good.

This Affair is of such Consequence to this Nation, that the People begin to be uneasy in seeing such Delays used in clearing it up: They plainly see, that it was not Error in Judgment only that defeated their Expectations from that Expedition: And it is absolutely requisite, for the Intimidation of Treachery, that the Punishment should be inflicted where *B* the Guilt shall be found: Our Expectations therefore of the Execution of Justice in this important Affair are now fix'd on the promised Court-Martial; we are become restless about it, lest, as in some former Inquiries, we should see Justice disarm'd of her Sword.

Had not our Hopes in the *Mediterranean* been blasted, we have Reason to think there had been no Siege of *Tournay*; nor had Slaughter raged among our Troops as it has lately done: The Felicity of some Hundreds of Families had not been interrupted by their Sorrows for so many slaughter'd Friends and Relations: In short, instead of Treasures exhausted and of faded Glory, *Plenty* with *Commerce* had been restored, and *Victory* had placed the Olive in *E* the fair Hand of *Peace*.

Alas! what is a Nation to expect, if Cowardice, rank and dishonest Cowardice, is suffer'd to march at the Head of Numbers unpunish'd, and even not displaced from the Ranks and Decks which it has shamefully dishonour'd? No Connection by Marriages, no Affinity of Blood, should wipe away the Stain, or ward the Blow impending over Guilt: The Father should rather imitate the *Roman* Consul, and scourge the Scandal of his Name in his degenerate Issue. Let Virtue like this prevail in the Land, and Honour will become the brightest Jewel of the Crown; Loyalty

will fix the Throne unshaken, and secure Succession; Liberty will diffuse her Blessings thro' every Field and Town; Vice and Folly will hide their Heads, and Wisdom and Merit will no longer reproach the Neglect *A* of Power. Such will always be the happy Effects of a righteous Distribution of Rewards and Punishments.

Westminster Journal, June 8. № 184.

Whether the true Interest of Great Britain be pursued in the present War.

*S*TRIVING continually against the Stream, poor *England*, when will thy Spirits be quite exhausted? When wilt thou sink in the Gulph of thy Misfortunes, and suffer the *C* Waves of foreign Power to rush in with full Fury over thy devoted Head? Are not all thy Measures still cross'd, all thy Dispositions baffled, whenever thou attemptest to vindicate the Honour of thy ancient Character? How art thou fallen, fairest of Islands, *D* once the Mistress of the Ocean!

If these Reflections do not naturally arise to every Man, upon Consideration of our present Circumstances, I cannot help owning they seem to me exceeding obvious. For can it be deny'd that we are striving against the Stream, when nothing favourable concurs with our Endeavours? Must not those Spirits be in Time exhausted, which suffer a continual Waste without Recruit? Is not that properly a Gulph of Misfortunes, to which no Bottom can be discovered? May not an irresistible Inundation of those Waves be expected, which already are felt breaking in with increasing Force? Will any one contend that our Measures have not been cross'd, our Dispositions baffled, who compares what *G* we have attempted with what we have done, or rather with what we have not done? And may not that Nation, alas! be said to be fallen, *whose*

whose antient History can scarce serve any other Purpose than to reproach her modern Conduct?

The Miscarriage in the *Mediterranean*, tho' great, was but a single Misfortune, which the Bravery of our Sailors, and the Honesty of other Commanders, may possibly in Time repair: The Slaughter at *Fontenoy*, sanguinary as it was, may, by some ten or fifteen thousand of fresh Troops, be also repaired: My Attention, at present, is not so much fix'd on these two particular Objects, of which enough perhaps has been already said, as upon the general Prospect and Tendency of Affairs, which to me do not in the least appear favourable. That the Duke of *Cumberland* may beat the *French* in *Flanders*, the Grand Duke may beat them upon the *Rhine*, and Prince *Charles* soundly pay the *Prussians* in *Silesia*, and all this in the present Campaign, I do not deny or dispute, tho' probably I am not quite so credulous on those Heads as some People: But the Difficulty with me is, for whom will all these Victories be won? What will *England* get by them? For what is she now contending? What does she expect, at the Conclusion of a Peace, as an Equivalent for all her Expence of Blood and Treasure?— Surely these are serious Questions, are worthy the Consideration of every *Englishman*.

If *England*, in the present State of Affairs, has any Business with a War on the Continent, it must be in order to humble *France*, or prevent her growing so powerful as to oppress her Neighbours, which might in Time enable her to make successful Attempts on us: Or, in other Words, to preserve such a Balance of Power, and such a Number of independent Friends, as might always awe her into an Observance of equitable Conditions in every publick Transaction:—But in doing this, such Part is to be taken by us, as may in

the Consequence turn most to our own Advantage, as well as to the general End proposed: And it need not be repeated, that this Part is to distress the Common Enemy by Sea, ruin her Trade, and seize her Colonies the Springs of that Trade, which would cut off the Resources that tempt her to such unjust Undertakings upon the Continent of *Europe*.

By Sea, notwithstanding bad Management, treacherous Command, and unforeseen Accidents, we may still call ourselves more powerful than *France*, or than *France* and all her Allies. What hinders then that we should make use of this Power, and apply to it more than we do of the vast annual Grants? What, but the great Affection to a Service for which Nature has render'd us unfit, from some other Motive than that of pursuing principally our own Interest, and distressing *France* in the most sensible Manner, for the Benefit of us and our useful Allies?

I think our Expence for the War by Sea, as at present appears, amounts to less than 3 Millions a Year, including with the Charge of 40,000 Seamen, the Ordinary of the Navy, and the Debt that may be supposed to accrue in this Year to the Navy, upon an Average with what has been for some Years past. Now the Expence of the Land Service abroad, including the several Subsidies specified, and the 500,000*l.* granted to make good other Engagements, amounts to very near as much. And yet we are able to keep but a very small Number of Troops, in proportion to what are kept by the King of *Prussia*, who has not in the whole much more than half of the Revenue applied to either of these Services. Does not this prove, that whatever Share we take in a Land War, with our own Troops, is infinitely more expensive than the same Share would be to any Power on the Continent? That therefore, if *France* had

had not even greater Revenues than *England*, we are no Match for her upon her own Dunghill? And consequently, that either to lessen the Power of *France*, or keep it within proper Limits, is by us very injudiciously undertaken against the Advantages Nature has given her?

But if one Half of what is now expended for the Land were applied to the Sea Service, and the other Half (for I will not suppose our Ways and Means Gentlemen can think at present of fewer Millions per Annum) were given in Subsidies to those who should serve us, I am apt to think we might not only, in a few Years, break the whole Naval Power of our Enemies, but do them much more Mischief by Land than we now do by sending over our own Troops.

Those who are doubtful may examine this Point, which I have not at present either Leisure or Inclination to do, being fully satisfy'd in my own Mind. But let the Result of this Examination be as it may, my strongest Argument against a Land War, as at present conducted, will remain in full Force: I mean, that it is not carried on upon *Br—sh* Principles, nor for *Br—sh* Interest, which would be the Interest of all our natural Allies, and would engage them heartily in the same Cause; but upon such Principles, and for such Interest, as render diffident and shy all the good Allies of *Britain*, because they foresee but small Advantage either to us or them in the most successful Event.

The three Sovereigns of *Europe*, whose Concurrence in a well-grounded War with the House of *Bourbon*, we ought to expect at least equal with any, are the King of *Prussia*, the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*, King of *Sweden*, and the King of *Denmark*. These are all Protestant Families, and the only Protestant crown'd Heads in *Christendom*, ex-

cept his *Britannick* Majesty: And how little soever Religion may be thought to avail among Princes, Honour, the Royal Deity, would naturally engage each in support of what himself professes, if the contrary were not indicated by some other Consideration. The Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon* are Enemies thro' Ambition; but as both of them are at the same Time Enemies to what we call the pure Religion, all the Protestant Powers should naturally A
B watch over the growing Greatness of either, and unite to assist the Weaker, in order to controul the Stronger. This, in the present War, must have made them all Friends to each other and to the Queen of *Hungary*, if some unlucky Counter-Motive did not intervene.

During *Q. Anne's* War, the *Brandenburgers*, *Hessians*, and *Danes*, were all hearty in what was unanimously denominated the *Common Cause*: They not only sent their Quotas of Troops, but the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, now King of *Sweden*, was one of the Heroes that conducted them with greatest Hazard and Success: But in the present War, the Houses of *Brandenburg* and *Hesse-Cassel* have been open Enemies to what we are told is the same Cause; while the *Danish* Monarch is so far from being a Friend, that, after various Negotiations and Intreaties, he is reported at last to have told the Grand Enemy, that he will do nothing contrary to the Engagements with his Most Christian F Majesty.

And yet, in all obvious Appearance, *Great Britain* had more Reason to expect the Friendship of these three Powers now, than she had in the Reign of *Q. Anne*: For, besides the general Engagements of Religion and Policy, there is now an Engagement of either Consanguinity or Alliance with each of these Powers, which did not then subsist. The G
Q q z
King.

King of *Prussia* was born the Nephew of his present Britannick Majesty, and the Heirs of *Hesse-Cassel* and *Denmark* have both had lately the Honour of becoming his Sons-in-Law. And tho' we sometimes see that Nearness of Blood, where Interests are different, is no Bond of Union; yet we must allow, that where Interests are the same, as those of *Great Britain*, *Prussia*, *Hesse*, and *Denmark*, were esteem'd in the Reign of *Q. Anne*, Relation is rather a Motive to, than an Impediment of, Friendship. Thus, in the present Century, we have seen the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, who were eternal Enemies when of different Houses, continue firm Friends in the general Design of subverting the Liberties of *Europe*, and aggrandizing the House of *Bourbon*, from which both Monarchs are now descended, at the Expence of every other Power.

How then does it happen, that a Family Alliance with the K—g of *G—t B——n* has not the same Effect, tho' join'd with the common Interest of Policy and Religion?

Were I to answer this Question, I should make no Scruple to say, in general, Because the K—g of *Gr—t B——n* is likewise El—r of *H——r*.

But why, should it be farther ask'd, does the El—r of *H——r*, being the same Person, hinder the K—g of *Gr—t B——n* from having his natural Influence?

To this I would readily reply, Because the three Powers above-mentioned have a natural and unavoidable Jealousy of the El—r of *H——r*, which over-balances the Confidence they would otherwise repose in the K—g of *Gr—t B——n*.

Let us suppose our Querist to proceed farther, and demand, Whence arises this Jealousy, since the El—r of *H——r*, as such, is not a Match for either *Prussia* or *Den-*

mark, nor much an Over-match for *Hesse-Cassel* alone?

Still, methinks, the Responses would be very easy; for what is more obvious than to say,—But if the Power of the K—g of *Gr—t B——n*, A which ought only to watch over the general Balance, and honour the great Trust of being at the Head of the Protestant Interest, be all exerted in the Service of the El—r of *H——r*, who aims at nothing but Increase of Wealth and Territory; must not that Power lose its original Effect and Influence, and be consider'd only as a formidable Acquisition to *H——r*, which becomes thereby so much the greater Object of Jealousy?

But why this Object to these three Powers in particular, more than to others?

Because of Vicinity, and the Probability thence resulting, that whenever *H——r* thinks herself able to push for Room, she will begin with elbowing one or other of these.

Were Questions in the same Manner to be ask'd concerning each of them respectively, and the Light in which present Measures must appear, the Task would be not more difficult to answer them. To prevent a Redundancy of Words, I will conclude this Paper with a Kind of Specimen, by Way of Dialogue between *A* and *B*.

A. Why is *Prussia* so extremely jealous of *H——r*?

B. Because their Dominions, for a great Extent, border upon each other; and because *H——r*, since F the breaking out of the War in *Germany*, gave Proof of her neighbourly good Will in the projected Scheme of Partition, which was rejected and exposed by the more just and equitable Parties.

A. Why is *Denmark* so extremely jealous of *H——r*?

B. Because of the long Vicinity likewise of their Dominions, both in *Lower Saxony* and *Westphalia*; and

and because *H——r* has already once insulted her by a Seizure of a small Castle and Territory, which must have occasion'd an open Rupture, but for the timely Mediation of a little *English Money*. (See our Mag. for 1738, p. 633; and for A 1739, p. 155, 206.)

A. But why is *Hesse-Cassel* likewise infected with the Jealousy?

B. Because of Vicinity again; and because of a great supposed Injury to the Crown of *Sweden*, which the present Landgrave wears, in the Purchase of *Bremen* and *Ferden* for the Enlargement of *H——r*; and because, farther, the Prince Regent, Father of our illustrious Son-in-Law, was a Witness of the Refusal of an honourable Peace two Years ago, because the Cravings of *H——r* were not yet satisfied.

A. What Cravings could she expect to satisfy by the Continuance of the War?

B. Those, after a few Secularizations, particularly of *Hildesheim*, or a few Clippings from weaker Neighbours, which either driving an Emperor to Distress, as was attempted with the last, or laying on him great Obligations, which may be the Case with the next, will be sufficient to extort. *Gr-t B——n* pays the Expence, and *H——r* is to reap the Benefit.

A. What then! do you think our Interest not at all considered?

B. I am afraid not, whatever may be pretended. If *H——r* were satisfied the next Month, I will venture to prophesy we should have a F Peace, whatever became of the Trade or Honour of *Gr-t B——n*: But while the *El——te* continues hungry, I should doubt if a free Trade to America, the Surrender of *Cape Breton*, the *Sugar Islands*, or even *Dunkirk*, would be enough to procure G Tranquillity to the Kingdom.—But perhaps we may talk farther of these Matters, when we happen to have another Meeting.

Old England, June 15. N° 114.

A LETTER from an ENGLISH OFFICER at Doway.

SIR,

I Shall not give you any Account of the Action, which happen'd near *Tournay* on the 11th of this Instant; you will have heard the Particulars of that Affair before this Letter can come to your Hands: Neither shall I touch upon the Causes B of our Disaster, or make Complaint of some of our Auxiliaries, by whom, if we had been well seconded, we should, by our Valour, have made Amends for some Defects ——. I shall only take Notice of what concerns myself; I was made a Prisoner C at the End of the Action, and, with some others, conducted to *Lille*; where, altho' I must confess, I have been treated with the greatest Civility, yet it is no small Mortification to me, to find that I am not likely to obtain my Liberty: We all took D it for granted, that the Cartel which subsisted for two Campaigns was still in Force, and that we should be immediately released, in order to return to our Duty: Little did I think, when I saw the Mareschal de Bellisle brought a Prisoner with some Triumph to *England*, that I should suffer for his Capture; yet, I must tell you, this is certainly our Case.

I had this Intelligence from an Officer here, a Man of good Understanding, with whom, as I was talking about our Release, he stopt me short, by saying, What Right have you, Sir, to the Benefit of a Cartel, which already hath been violated on your Side, in the Person of Mareschal de Bellisle? (See p. 258.)

To justify our Conduct in that Particular, I have made use of the Reasons to him which I had heard given in *England*, that the Mareschal was not taken at the Head of an Army,

290 LETTER from an ENGLISH OFFICER, &c.

Army, but appeared in the Character of a Traveller, or a Minister, going from Court to Court; and, therefore, the Cartel could not take Effect with respect to him.

The Officer told me, he believed, I was not well inform'd in that Matter; that, to shew me that the French were not the first who broke this Convention, he would endeavour to explain it to me.

In order to prove his first Proposition, he told me, that the Mareschal *de Bellisle*, one of the King's Generals at the Siege of *Friburgh*, was order'd, after taking of that Place, to go and confer with the Emperor concerning the Winter Quarters of his Troops; that, in Consequence, the Mareschal might dispose the Troops of *France* in *Suabia*, in such a Manner as to be able to support those of *Bavaria*: He was also ordered to concert with his Imperial Majesty some Project for the Campaign to come.

When he had executed this Commission, he was farther ordered to confer with the King of *Prussia*; to communicate the Intentions of his Master to this Prince, with respect to the next Campaign, as well as the Regulations settled with the Emperor; and to concert with his *Prussian* Majesty what he would execute in Consequence of these Resolutions: After which, he was to return to his own Court to make known what had been settled, and then to take upon him the Command of the Army that was to put these Projects in Execution.

You must agree with me, Sir, that there is nothing in all this but what comes within the Province of a General; and that to form Projects in the Winter for the succeeding Campaign, is not only the most material, but the most noble Part of his Profession.

The Mareschal *de Bellisle* parted from *Munich*, and, when he arrived

in *Franconia*, he dismissed the Escorte he had for the Security of his Person, thinking he had nothing but a Neutral Country to pass through, in his Way to *Berlin*; but, by a fatal Mistake of his Guides, he was lead

A tho' *Elbengarode*, in the Territory of *Hanover*, the Guides supposing that to be a Neutral Place, because the Post-House belonged to the King of *Prussia*; where he was arrested by Soldiers drawn from different Regiments, supported by the Militia: He so little suspected himself to be in the Territories of *Hanover*, that he sent before him an *Estatet* to provide, in his Name, forty Post-Horses.

These are the true Circumstances (said he) of the Capture of the Mareschal *de Bellisle*: Now, Sir, (added he) let us see how you can justify it, that this General should be refused the Right of this Cartel.

Is it because this General was not made a Prisoner in a Battle, a Siege, &c? It is true, that the second Article of the Cartel expresses those Occasions in which most Prisoners are generally taken; but it is true, that in the same Article, after the short Recital of Circumstances, the following Term (*or by any other Means*) is made use of to comprehend all the Times, Occasions, and Accidents, by which an Officer can be made a Prisoner.

To give you a just Idea of the Extent of this Term, I must desire you to observe, that Cartels are always drawn up by General Officers, who, following the ancient Custom, F do not arm themselves against those little Chicanes and Subtilties, which the Negotiators of the present Times make use of; that Expression, therefore, (*or by any other Means*) must take in all Places.

Is it because he had not Troops with him, at the Time he was taken? The Cartel makes no Exception for such a Case, and the present War, as well as those that are past, furnished

A thousand Examples of Officers, who, either travelling alone upon their private Affairs, or going to join their Corps, have been taken; who have always been considered and treated as Prisoners of War, as much as if they had been taken in Action, and have been exchanged during the Course of the War, when no Cartel subsisted; for stronger Reasons they have a Right when there is a Cartel.

The Refusal, therefore, of releasing the Mareschal *de Belliste* cannot be grounded upon any Reason; notwithstanding the Point is so clear, the Mareschal *de Belliste* has been carried from Castle to Castle, and guarded like a Prisoner of State, and treated without the least Respect or Regard to his Character, till his setting out for *England*, where, with all Civility, he was confin'd to a Tower.

C Do you see any thing in this Treatment consistent with the Laws of War, or the Customs used by polite Nations for two Centuries past, and which the Duke of *Marlborough*, in the Time of the late War, carried to the Height D of Politeness and Humanity?

E What would you say, if you, Sir, and the other Gentlemen that are our Prisoners, should be separately confined in Castles, deprived of the Service of your Domesticks? If you should be told, that the Mareschal *de Belliste* and his Brother were separated for some Time, that even his Surgeon was not suffered to attend him, altho' he was indisposed? It is true, this did not last long, but Reprisals are generally extended, especially where the first Offence is given to a F Person of so high a Character.

You cannot, therefore, deny but that you are the first who have violated the Cartel; that Barrier being once broken down, who can say what may be the Consequence?

G If the King, my Master, should order all the *English*, now in *France*, to be arrested, who are come upon the Faith of Passports, would not

you cry out against such an Act of Violence? What is the Difference betwixt violating a Cartel and a Passport, I leave you to judge.

A Thus ended our Conference. Whether there is any Weight in this Gentleman's Arguments I shall leave to abler Heads, and to Persons more versed in Treaties; but, as we are likely to suffer upon this Account, I hope the Matter will be taken into Consideration at home: And I beg you will let me know, whether any Measures are taken for restoring this Cartel.

B Dorway, May the
19th, 1745.

Westminster Journal, June 15. N^o 185,

DIALOGUE between H. and E. Shewing why the Influence of G—t B——n is not the same as formerly.

H. WHAT an Incendiary is this Touchit? He has often endeavour'd to persuade us that H——r is a Place of small Value, Power, or Influence, and yet would now raise her into an Object of Terror to us, and Jealousy to all her Neighbours: What Inconsistency!

E I profess, Sir, I do not perceive the Inconsistency you speak of. I like general and random Declamations no more than you: But when Facts are stated, uncontroverted Facts, I cannot blame the Man who informs me of them, how much soever I may be griev'd to perceive they are true.

H. What! no Inconsistency, Sir, in making the same Country at once both inconsiderable and formidable?

E Not in the least, upon the State he has given of Things, which I verily believe you must in your Heart own to be genuine.—If H——r be in herself impotent, she will be proud, by the meanest Arts, to make new Acquisitions of Power: And if, where there is Power, there be an Inclination to make her all the Concessions

cessions of it she can ask, is it unnatural to suppose she may grow insolently troublesome, both to her Benefactors and those she before envied?

H. You are going now to harp upon the old Strings: *Bremen* and *Ferden*; the little Affair with the *Danes*; and the trifling Design upon *Brandenburg*, in return for the Invasion of *Silesia* upon weak Pretences. But we are tired with this Stuff: All these Businesses are now over: Even your *H*—*n* Mercenaries, about which you made such a Bustle, are they any longer in *English* Pay?

E. But are not Part of them in the Pay of the Queen of *H*—*y*? Do we not allow that Princess the full Pay of that Half extraordinary? Are you sure the other Half, which have not yet been sent home, will not be charged to our Account?—And as to the other Causes of Resentment, if the Effects of them still remain, as appears in the Conduct of the offended Parties, ought we to say they are over, tho' in R—1 Decency they be no longer mention'd by the Parties themselves?

H. But dare you infringe that Decency, which restrains from producing an Argument that must be so much to the Advantage of the said Parties?

E. Nay, nay, as to Advantage, I shall say nothing more than this: Till some Accounts are better kept, I know not but this Silence may be more advantageous than an open Vindication of Conduct.—But be that as it will, I have nothing to do with the Rules observed among my Superiors, who would take it as an Affront were I to presume to copy their Manners. I am a plain *Englishman*, and talk to one of my own Rank, which has not elevated us above hearing and speaking the Truth for fear of working ourselves G into a fatal or expensive Quarrel. And in that Character I say, that either *H*—*r*, hinders *Gr-t B*—*n*

from having her natural Interest among the Protestant Powers, or those Powers have now very different Ideas of their own Interest, from what they had half a Century ago.

H. Possibly their Interest, with respect to *France*, may be really changed, and not in Idea only.

E. As how? The Designs of *France* upon the Liberties of Europe, and particularly of the Empire, are not now either less pernicious or less manifest than they were at the Beginning of the last War: Neither Denmark, Hesse-Cassel, nor Brandenburg, is now farther removed from the common Danger than it was then: *Gr-t B*—*n*, as much as ever, is now; of herself, the natural Head of every Confederacy in B half of Liberty and the Reformation: And yet, neither do the Designs of *France*, nor the Proximity of Danger, seem to give the same Apprehensions; nor does the Power or Zeal of *Gr-t B*—*n* produce the same Confidence.

H. But they were then mistaken in being so very apprehensive. *France* is not the very formidable Power she was then thought, and therefore they have no Occasion to be so extremely forward on every Alarm.

E. If she is not so to them, why F is she to us? Are we any nearer, any more exposed, than we were when the whole Spanish Monarchy was in the Hands of *Lewis XIV.* and especially the *Netherlands*, to obtain which seems to be now the chief Object of *Lewis XV's* Ambition?

H. Who says we are? But we are certainly quite as much, and therefore ought to be equally vigilant and zealous in opposing the Measures of *France*.

E. But, surely, not without Allies: We did not so then; the Quotas were secured from the respective Powers, before we sent over our Troops.

H. Secured! Aye: But you paid for

for your Allies then, as well as now, before you had them.

E. But we pay for them now without having them at all.

H. A notorious Falshood ! Whom do we now pay that do not assist us ?

E. We have so many Engagements upon our Hands at present, so many Contracts to perform, that I cannot directly say, to whom we do not stand engaged for Payment : But this is certain, that if *Denmark* and *Hesse-Cassel* do not at present receive our Money, they have received it in Time past, when they could do no Service ; and they have been solicited to continue our Pensioners, now that their Help might have been useful. It is not our Fault that we do not pay them, but the Fault of *H——r*, that they do not care to receive our Money.

H. Why so ? Is not every one that lets himself out for a certain Time at Liberty to continue or discontinue his Service, at the Expiration of his Term, without assigning a Motive ? Might not this be Matter of Choice in both these Powers ? Or might not the Enemy, if they stood out for the best Market, take Care to outbid us, and so draw them off ?

E. As to the Enemy's Bidding, I do not say but he might be forward enough : But then all who have ever dealt with *G-t B-n* know she not only bids, but pays, and never flies off for a Trifle of Money, even if it be an After-Demand, to oblige her Friends. And with respect to Choice, we have no Reason to think a good round annual Receipt would be refused either at *Copenhagen* or *Cassel* : But if this Receipt can be had from two Parties, they will certainly listen to that, which, in the Consequence, may give them least Cause to repent.

H. I profess I do not fully understand you. You reproach these Parties with receiving our Money some Time ago, and refusing it now. What Cause of Repentance may be

now apprehended, which did not subsist when we had either *Hessian* or *Danish* Mercenaries ?

E. We were then at Peace with all *Europe*, and *H——r*, under the Pretence of an *En-sb* Quarrel, could not employ these Troops to the Ends of her own Ambition.— The Expedient was mighty easy, when *H——r*, by her troublesome Vicinity, had given any Affront, to make it up with a little *En-sb* Money, paid for Troops that were to do neither Good nor Harm, but remain on the Territories of their proper Masters : But when Business was like to be done, and to be done for *H——r*, could we expect them either to lend or let out Assistance, to aggrandize this natural Object of Jealousy ?

H. And to this you really attribute the Refusal of our Money ?

E. I do ; and conceive it squares entirely with Reason. When the War in *Germany* is over, take my Word for it, we shall not offer in vain, if we have a Mind to be again liberal in the same Quarters.

H. If it was as you say, I should think our *quondam* Mercenaries a little ungrateful : But you speak from Prejudice only ; there must be some other Reason, which neither you nor I can penetrate, for this Discontinuance of a Contract that must have been beneficial.

E. I wish then we were a little sharper sighted, because I should be glad to find some plausible Excuse for the small Effect of our Offers and Application. But in the Light Things at present appear to me, either our Northern Allies, who join'd in the last War against *France*, did at that Time more than was necessary, or they do less now ; either their Change of Conduct must be attributed to *G H——r*, or it is quite unaccountable.— The same Thing appears in all our other Allies, for whom *H——r* may claim any Regard.

R. What

H. What other Allies? Name some of them.

E. Tho' the Spiritual Electorate of *Cologne* be confer'd by the Chapter, Interest seems to have made it almost hereditary in the House of *Bavaria*. The Elector of *Cologne*, as such, is Duke of *Westphalia*; and the present Elector is also, thro' Favour, Bishop of *Munster*, *Paderborn*, and *Osnabrug*, all in the Neighbourhood of the *H——n* Dominions. *Osnabrug* comes alternately to a Prince of the House of *Brunswick-Lunenburg*, and may probably devolve to the D—e of *Camb——d*. As it may be supposed therefore that *H——r*, if any future Secularizations should be made in her Favour, will have an Eye not only to the Perpetuity of this, but also to the other *Westphalian* Bishopricks; and as the House of *Bavaria* may have the same Views for such Princes of their Family as may become Electors of *Cologne*; here there seems to be another Cause of Jealousy from *H——r*, which possibly may make his present Electoral Highness so slow in fulfilling his Engagements, tho' they have been paid for by *Gr——t B——n*.

H. I wonder you do not persuade us, that the Backwardness of the *Dutch* likewise, after their Barrier has been attack'd, is owing to *H——r*!

E. If we had Time to talk farther of the Matter, you should not wonder long, because I think that too in a great Measure demonstrable.— But for the present remember I take upon me to prove, at our next Meeting, that it is impossible *Gr——t B——n* should ever have her due Weight on the Continent, while any particular District there is suffered to engross her whole Care, Attention, and the greatest Part of her Riches.

to his Conduct in the late Action at Fontenoy.

THE Brigadier represents, that on the Day of the Battle, being the 30th of April, O. S. his Royal Highness sent for him early in the Morning, and told him, he was to attack six Pieces of the Enemy's Cannon, situated in the Wood; and that Capt. *Forbes*, Aid-de-Camp to Lieutenant General *Campbell*, would shew him the Place; who carried him to the Orchard where the Highlanders were posted, and shew'd him the Wood: Some of the Officers of the Highlanders inform'd him, that the Enemy had Cannon at the Point of it. On the Brigadier's Return, he acquainted the Duke he had been shewn the Place, not thinking it was possible for the Person, that was sent on that Purpose, to mistake his Royal Highness's Intention.

The Brigadier also told his Major of Brigade what was to be done.

The Duke further order'd the Brigadier, if he took the Cannon, to turn them upon the Enemy; if he could not turn them, to nail them; for which Purpose, some Gunners were order'd, and four Battalions, viz. *Duroure's*, *Pulteney's*, *Lord Semple's*, and a *Hanoverian* Regiment; which latter he was to take off from a Post that lay at some Distance from the Road, and oblig'd the Brigadier to halt till that Regiment join'd him.

In Obedience to the above Orders, the Brigadier march'd beyond the Village into a hollow Way, where he halted, within a hundred Yards of the Wood, in order to reconnoitre; and from the Banks of which he observ'd, that the Enemy had a strong Detachment in the Wood, and at that Juncture were marching several Parties towards it; particularly one which lay down flat in the Corn, about forty Yards from the Flank of the

the Wood; and others, which march'd and join'd some Squadrons on the Hill, near it.

The Brigadier finding the Enemy thus advantageously situated, sent Major *Bernard* to the Duke, to acquaint his Royal Highness, that he thought some Pieces of Cannon would absolutely be requisite to flank the Enemy, whilst he march'd to the Attack; which the Duke readily comply'd with, and immediately order'd three Six-pounders.

Soon after, the Brigadier sent Captain *Crawford*, of Major-General *Pulteney's* Regiment, to acquaint the Duke with what he had observ'd; during which Time the Brigadier call'd the Commanding Officers together, acquainted them what he was to do, and consulted with them the properest Way to attack: It was resolv'd to draw up upon the Right of the hollow Way, where there appear'd no Difficulty to hinder our March; and likewise having it in our Power to flank the Enemy as we march'd.

When the Brigadier was putting this Disposition in Execution, Capt. *Crawford* return'd, and immediately after the Duke came up. The Brigadier then acquainted his Royal Highness with the Observations he had made, the Cannon being then arriv'd, and on the Left of the hollow Way.

His Royal Highness then order'd the Brigadier to form on the Left of the hollow Way, the Cannon to advance and fire, and the Battalions to march and support them. And further order'd the Brigadier to keep in a direct Line with that Part of the Army that was on the Left; which Orders were immediately executed.

The Brigadier apprehends, as his Royal Highness alter'd his Disposition, and gave him fresh Orders, which Orders were punctually obey'd, that he cannot be liable to a Censure for Disobedience of Orders.

His Royal Highness some Time after return'd, and order'd Lord *Semple's* Regiment to the Attack of the Village; which was the whole Day afterwards separated from the Brigadier's Command.

A Whilst the Brigadier was marching at the Head of *Duroure's* Regiment, in Pursuance of the Duke's last Orders, he receiv'd a Message from General *Ligonier* by his Aid-de-Camp, Capt. *Amburst*, enquiring the Reason why he had not attack'd, according to the Orders given early in the Morning; the Brigadier answer'd, That his Royal Highness had since order'd him to march and keep in a Line with the Left of the Army.

C Some Time after, the Brigadier still marching at the Head of *Duroure's* Regiment, Capt. *Napier* acquainted him, that Major-General *Zaffrow* was to command that Part of the Line; but the Brigadier never receiv'd any Orders from him, neither did he see him.

D The Brigadier continued at the Head of *Duroure's* Regiment, within an hundred and fifty Paces of a Redoubt, from which he was expos'd to a continual Fire from the Beginning of the Action, which the Loss of that Regiment will make appear; and in the Attack, the Brigadier had the Misfortune to receive a Wound, which oblig'd him to be carried off.

RICHARD INGOLDSBY.

A REMARK on the foregoing.

F The Moderation and dispassionate Air which runs thro' the Whole of this Piece, consisting of simple Matters of Fact, the Truth of which appears unquestionable from the Appeal implicitly lodged, to the Persons named therein, and whose Duty it would be to refute them, if false, has had no small Effect on the unpartial Publick, who have received it with more Satisfaction than it is probable they would have done such a violent Defence, as the Nature of the Accusation might have provoked, in a Person of less solid Worth and Virtue than the injur'd Party.—His Behaviour under his Dis-

R 2 grace

grace shews the unwounded Dignity of his Mind, and how little he deserved it, by his Unwillingness that any Noise should be made about him, to occasion a Ferment detrimental to the Service, and that might disquiet his Prince and Country; and it is heartily to be wished, that all who have Cause of Complaint, would follow this Example of Patience or Resignation, and avoid seeking to widen the publick Breaches in this divided Country, by inflammatory Appeals to it on the Score of their private Grievances.—It is nobler to observe the Mean the General has done: The Publick supplements such Omissions with exact Jus-

tice, and gives due Credit for what might have been, and is not, said.—In the mean Time, the Blame, thus removed from the Brigadier's Shoulders, lights *nowhere*, A or it is to *Fatality* alone we must ascribe the ill Success of this Enterprize; which is doubtless a very great *Comfort*. Fortune then has disposed of this Event; but, we may hope, that the Experience acquired thereby to a *great* General exquisitely capable of profiting by it, will enable him to retrieve in future the Honour of that fatal Day, in which so many gallant Men were brave in vain!

LATINIICIACIT
FICUSMAE: VI-

SIR,

Camelford, May 28, 1745.

THE above is a Copy of an Inscription on a Stone, found at a Place called *Slaughter-Bridge*, or, corruptly, *Slovens-Bridge*, about a Mile from this Town, near *Worthbeale*, Seat of the late Lord *Falmouth*'s, in the very Place where, as Tradition reports, the famous British King *Arthur* received his mortal Wound. There have been various Conjectures about it, but our Antiquaries not agreeing, in order to satisfy my Curiosity, I have taken the above from the Stone itself, and hope you will give it a Place in your Magazine, and then I doubt not but some of your ingenious Correspondents will oblige me, by giving their Opinion of it.

I am, SIR,

Your constant Reader,

And humble Servant,

Jos. POMEROY.

The following is writ with such an Air of Truth, that we think proper to give it our Readers.

Extract of a Letter from a Surgeon in the British Army abroad, who was made a Prisoner by the French after the Battle of Fontenoy.

WE Surgeons, sent to take Care of the Wounded, when carried from the Field of Battle, were made Prisoners of War, and treated in a very merciless Way; for not only we, but about 1000 more, were stript of every Thing valuable we had, *viz.* Watches, Swords, Money, and Cloaths; and not only so, but our very Instruments were taken from us, altho' the Barbarians saw Hundreds continually imploring our Assistance. In this unprecedented Way we remain'd three Days, Numbers dying every Hour, because we had nothing to dress them with, when they were flung in Waggons, and drove along

the Causeway to *Lille*, *Valenciennes*, &c. In this jolting Journey, you may easily conceive the Misery of these poor Wretches, most with their Legs, Arms, &c. shatter'd to Pieces.

I assure you, the Impression is so strong in my Mind, that no Time will efface the Remembrance: I saw their Wounds, and heard their Groans. At last, we Surgeons were allow'd to pass to our Regiments, and when we arrived at the Camp, we waited on his Royal Highness, laid before him the Manner of our Treatment, and presented him with a Bag of chew'd Balls, Points of Swords, Pieces of Flint, Glass, Iron, &c. we had extracted from the Wounds. This we did, with a View that his Highness might know what Enemies he had to deal with. The Duke was much irritated, and wrote immediately to *Saxe*, 'That if he intended to make War like a *Turk*, and not like a *Christian*, he would learn for the future how to receive them.' This may be the Cause of much Bloodshed on

on the Part of the French, our Army all swearing, that, for the future, they would never give them Quarter. At present the Army is in top Spirits, long for a second Brush with the Dogs, being by our Reinforcements *very near* as strong as ever; and if our 8000 *Austrians* from the Duchy of Luxemburg, and 1000 Huzzars arrive soon, we shall be able to beat them from their Batteries, and triple Intrenchments.

Craftsman, June 22. № 991.

MINISTERIAL METHODISM, or METHODISTS IN POLITICKS.

MINISTERS of State, in some Countries, are perfect *Methodists* in *Politicke*; who place all Merit in *Faith*, and *Grace*, that is, *Favour*, and none in *good Works*. This unaccountable strange Sect, of a Religion founded on Madness and Folly, hold that there is no *Justification by good Works*, but by *Faith* and *Grace* only. They hereby banish that divine Part of our Constitution, *Reason*, and cut off the most essential Recommendation to Heaven, *Virtue*. The Ministers of State, which I here speak of, are exact *Methodists*; they exclude *good Works* from their Practice, and place all Merit in their Prince's *Grace* or *Favour*, and in their *Faith* or *Confidence* in him.

The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge have publish'd a little Treatise, entitled, *An earnest Address to the People call'd Methodists*; which they give away for the Sake of the misguided Souls, who are dangerously led astray by that depraved Doctrine, and by their weak and, perhaps, designing Teachers. This pretty little Book I recommend to the Perusal of such Ministers of State; in which they will find sufficient Arguments to convince them of their present abominable Error in neglecting *good Works*. The Author of that Enchiridion has demonstrated, that, if they expect to be saved, it must be by *good Works*; which are the Conditions on which they are called to *Favour*.

Can any unprejudiced Person take a Survey of the publick Transactions of Great Britain for 20 Years past and upwards, and not discover many Indications of *Methodism* in our Ministry? Nothing but *Faith* could justify the Treaty of Seville; they who were concern'd, on our Side, in it, must have had a greater Share of *Faith* than any of the religious *Methodists*, to believe that it could ever possibly be of any Advantage to this Nation. The setting *Don Carlos* on the Throne of the Two Sicilies was a Consequence of that Treaty; and the Flame which is now kept alive in Italy convinces

us that the Ministry at that Time had better have depended on *good Works* than *Faith*.

It would be almost endless to enumerate all the several Instances of *Methodism* in our different Ministers. We have many recent Examples, sufficient to shew the Danger of this political Enthusiasm. They who sent Mr. Matthews and Mr. Leflock, who were known to be at Variance, on the same important Expedition, must have an extraordinary Portion of *Faith*, to believe that it was a right Conduct; *good Works* were no Part of their Consideration. This enthusiastical Doctrine began to prevail, when some certain salutary Clauses in the *Act of Settlement* were repeal'd; stronger Instances

B of *Faith* could not be given; they then threw themselves entirely on *Grace* or *Favour*. Men, who are far gone in these mad Principles of Religion, suspend the Hand of Industry, become inactive, and leave all to Providence, without exercising either their Heads or Hands for the necessary Acquisitions in Life. Our *political Methodists* have done the same. The Means have been in their Reach, by which the Nation might have acquired Victory, Riches, and Glory; but they have been neglected, from a religious Dependence on Providence, to do all for us that we can want or desire. Of the 200 Sail of Ships and upwards which we now have, we are at a Loss to know how half of them are employ'd. By a proper Exertion of that naval Force we might long ago have destroy'd, or render'd useless, the whole Fleets of France and Spain, and might now do it; but, if we should, that would be to depart from the true Principles of *Methodism*, and would look as if we could no longer depend on Providence; to which the Care of *Jamaica*, *Barbadoes*, and our other Colonies in the *West Indies*, are committed.

C The Doctrine of *Regeneration* is very essential with this Sect of *political Methodists*. Men, who some Time ago seem'd to think *good Works* necessary for the Preservation of this Land, are now regenerated, and with their Brethren, who brought them over to *Methodism*, place all Merit in *Favour* and *Faith*; they have thrown *good Works* aside, and resolved to have no more to do with them; and unless a Man is new born in *Politicke*, he cannot be admitted into this Sect. Some few indeed have creep'd in among them, whom they think not truly regenerated, but are fearful lest they should be still so blind as to believe *good Works* necessary to Salvation; and it is thought that, unless they can convert them thoroughly to *Methodism*, they will exclude them from their Society. Our Marshals Cobbam, Stair, and Wade, were esteem'd as useless among them;

them; because they all thought *good Works* requisite for the well-being of this Nation, and were set aside, because they could not prevail on themselves to be *Methodists*, that is, to be inactive, and leave all to be done by Providence without any human Aid.

The Builders of *Westminster Bridge*, which began under the late ministerial Influence, A seem half-way gone to *Methodism*; for, had they minded *good Works*, we might have rode over it long before now. *Peter* the late great Emperor of *Russia*, who was no *Methodist*, and who has left many and immortal Instances of his *good Works*, would have erected such a Bridge as that is to be in a less Space of Time than two Years.

In my Consideration of the Growth of political *Methodism* what gives me the greatest Concern, is the Progress it has made in both Houses of Parliament; for, could we keep it from spreading there, we may bid Defiance to all ministerial *Methodism*.

I shall here give some Extracts from the little Manual which I before recommended, as Admonitions to those who have been C seduced by ministerial *Methodism*.

" Let me remind you of the Progress of *Methodism* since its first Appearing. This alone should persuade you to retreat in Time. How are your Teachers alter'd from what they profess'd at first! — Several Things were written to reclaim them. — They broke out into still worse Extravagancies, — and, at last, in Defiance of the Law, exercised the Ministry. — It is out of no personal Dislike or Ill-will to any of these Men, that I have thus laid open their Proceedings. It is for your Sakes, my Brethren, to induce you to withdraw from them, before Things grow more deplorable. I could wish they themselves would consider the Danger of their present Sentiments and Method. — But supposing that they should obstinately persist in their Errors and Irregularities which God forbid) yet this will be no Excuse for you to follow them any longer. — Let me caution you against one Art of Delusion, which they have frequently practised; I mean, the applying to you in *all Manner of tender, wheedling Expressions*. — This is laying hold of your Affections, instead of applying to your Reason. The End and Design of it is to keep you bias'd and prejudiced towards them; but you ought to be upon your Guard against all such Insinuations; which are not only apt to prevent your making a *just and proper Enquiry*, and judging impartially, but have a farther ill Tendency. — I proceed to add a Word or two concerning *Diversions* and *Pleasures*; — which will ease the Body and unbend the Mind; which will prevent

your growing melancholy, inspire Chearfulness, conduce to your Improvement, and make you capable of going through your Business and Duty with more Life and Spirit; and all the Caution which you need in this Respect is, not to engage so far in any Diversions, as to let your Thoughts and Desires be too much fix'd upon them, not to suffer them to set aside any Thing necessary, not to spend too much Time, or too much Money, in Pursuit of them."

Old England, June 22. N° 115.

National Corruption must end in national Disgrace.

HAD Horace liv'd after the Christian Era, one would have thought that he had some Notion of original Sin; or, rather, of the Doctrine of visiting the Iniquities of the Fathers upon the Children, to the third and fourth Generation. — The Expression, *Delicta majorum immeritus lues, Romane*, favours very strongly of this Doctrine; and a Line which follows, breathes an Air of Piety little less than Christian; *Dis te minorem quod geris, Imperas*, 'It was humble Piety which raised Rome to Command.'

The Poet rightly thought, that it is Virtue alone which makes Empire durable: He saw the high Spirit for Command, the military Greatness, and civil Perfections of his Countrymen, out-live the Virtues of their Government: He therefore knew, that without a Reformation of their Morals, their Glory would follow their Liberty, and expire; as it afterwards did, in unequal and eruptive Blazes, as Honour or Infamy, Vice or Goodness, Abilities or Weakness, should direct their Arms, or inform their Counsels.

F Quo semel est imbuta recent, holds in Communities as well as Individuals. A People, whose Ancestors have been thoroughly impregnated, as we may call it, with the Love of Industry, Liberty, and virtuous Glory, will long retain the same Principles; they will take Refuge in the Heart, even when banished from the Head. The uniform'd Vulgar will live over the Scenes of their Nation's Glory and Prosperity, while their Governors are machinating her Infamy. This was the Case of *Rome*, may it never be that of *England*!

G Thanks be to that secret Reverence, which her worst of M—rs have had, in the worst of Times, for the Liberty of the Pres: The common People of *England* at this Time have *English* Principles, and such as an *English* Government may turn to the Confusion of all the Enemies of the *English*

English Name and Glory. — That Aversion to France, which ought to be nearest a British Heart, has, after a long Intercourse of Interests and Friendship betwixt the two Governments, broke out with a Spirit, which, had it been carefully conducted, must have been irresistible. Our Naval Glory is still the Pride of the Community of England; the Hatred of arbitrary Power is their darling Passion, and Standing Armies are by them considered as necessary Evils: With such Materials to work with, what a Superstructure of Glory might have been raised? — *But how are the Mighty fallen!* Let an Englishman look now over all Europe, and let him then ask, Where are thy Triumphs, thy Exploits, Old England?

Has she spent 100 Millions of Money, has she emptied the best Blood in her Veins, that a few tatter'd Rags may flutter in Westminster-Hall, and that her Ministers may learn to speak G——n? Yet what other Advantages have we gained, or what likely to gain by the present War, as now carried on? Were the Word *Majorum* to be taken in the literal Sense, and to signify Great Men, well might we apply the above Line of Horace, *Delicta majorum immeritus lues, Britannus, " Briton,* thou undeservedly sufferest for the Demerits of thy M——rs."

I am far from laying the infamous Conduct of our Naval Affairs, or the blundering Management of our Land Forces, all to the Account of the present Administration: I know the Seeds of both were sown before under the long inglorious Memory of one Man, to whom P——y Interest was equally a Recommendation to the Field or the Flag, to Benches or to B——ricks. But I may venture to appeal to the Memory of every Man, who has lived to see what has past these last half Dozen of Years, whether those Promotions from P——y Considerations were not declaimed against by the Gentlemen now in Power, as the Source of all our Evils? Whether a Place and Pension Bill was not annually and warmly insisted on, as its only Preventive? Whether the late A——n had not every Throat opened against it for not suffering such Bills to pass? Whether the Nation did not expect from the Treatment, which the Broad-bottoms gave to every one of the former Apostates from the Cause of the Publick, that they would disdain to hold any Places or Pensions under a G——t where the Liberty of the People was not secured by such a Bill? If, therefore, this was so far from being the Case, that not even the most distant Effort was made towards bringing any such Bill in by any of the Gentlemen who came into Power on a late

Occasion, by what Name shall we call such a Disappointment of the People's Expectations?

Admitting, therefore, the present A——n not to be accountable for many of the shameful Instances that have of late dishonour'd the Name, and disgrac'd the Arms of Old E——d; yet it is certainly accountable for what has not been done to prevent the like P——y Interest from again shedding its baneful Effects over all our Counsels and Actions.— But, setting aside our Miscarriages abroad, has nothing at home lately happened with regard to a certain B——d, where P——y Interest is very strong, which shews that this Poison still lurks within the O——es, which have hitherto been deemed the healthiest Part of the G——nt? Have no Frauds been discovered and detected beyond the Possibility of Excuse, and yet skreened and protected beyond the Reach of Justice?

To adopt private Quarrels, or to engage in personal Altercations, is in a Man imprudent, and in a Writer unbecoming: But the Charge, which now lies before me, seems to be so unquestionably supported, and by such Variety of Evidence, that it surely required Examination at least, if not *Animadversion*. Do we call a Man a Rascal who deprives the Labourer of his Hire, or works Journeywork for Tyburn? What Name then does he deserve who confederates in Fraud, which affects Thousands of the most useful of his Majesty's Subjects?

God forbid, that I should pronounce the Charge to be true; I am unwilling to suppose so meanly of any Gentleman, nay, of any Man, as to think him capable of being a Confederate in such nasty, low, dirty, pilfering Ways. If, therefore, the Charge should be groundless or malicious, no Punishment inflicted on the worthless Informers could be any Degree of Satisfaction to so barbarous an Attack upon the Reputation and Character of Gentlemen: But, in any Case, Justice, Honour, and Prudence, calls upon a superior B——d to take it under their Examination; either the Accused or Accuser must be Delinquents, and the Punishment of the Guilty is a meritorious Sacrifice to publick Justice, or to injured Reputation.

For my own Part, I am, as a Writer, in some Measure, press'd into this Service, and should be extremely glad never again to take the Pen upon the same Account; which I shall never do, if the Persons, for whose Use this is intended, do that, to which, as Servants of the King, as Servants of their Country, they are called upon by every Motive of Virtue and Duty;

I mean a thorough Examination into such a Scene of Villany on one Side or other.

If no Regard, however, is paid to the above Considerations, I hope to be excused, if I shall consider the stifling of so atrocious a Charge as a tacit Confession of a Charge so much the more important, as the Naval Glory of Britain is, or ought to be her brightest Character.

Witminster Journal, June 22. N° 186.

The Opinion of FOREIGNERS concerning the ENGLISH, with REMARKS.

I Have always been curious, when I read the Writings of Foreigners, to consider and weigh every Thing they advance concerning my own Country.—In French Descriptions of Battles between them and us, we often meet with such Expressions as these: *The English fought like Furies, —like so many Devils. —There was no withstanding the Impetuosity of the English.*—*If we had bad only common Men to deal with; —but here every one fought as if on him alone depended the whole Fortune of the Day.* Now, whenever I meet with an Expression of this Kind, I take it for a glorious Confirmation of what our own Historians have told us on the same Occasion, that we did indeed dreadfully maul the Enemy.—In the late Action of Fontenoy, when we were so far from being Victors, I received more Satisfaction from the French Encomiums on the Bravery of our Troops, a more convincing Testimony that their Loss was not quite disproportioned to ours, than from all the printed Accounts of our own Loss, which, I am afraid, were too alleviating.

That they were so with respect to some Regiments, I have been too well convinced from private Accounts. I have been assured of three, whose whole Loss together, in the *Gazette*, did not amount to 200, but by Officers on the Spot, is increased to above 500.—But let us draw a Veil over this melancholy Affair, and forget the Numbers that have already been sent to reinforce the Army, which is not yet, according to the last Advices, quite so strong as before the Action.—It is a Consolation that the Enemy suffered as well as we; that they suffered again before the Town of Tournay, and that the Citadel, which they thought of reducing instantly, held out to cost them their Thousands. While we have a Land War, we must often have Occasion for such Resources of Comfort.

But to return to my Subject: When we read in the Jesuit Rapin, that “the English

have more of Genius for Tragedy than other People, as well by the Spirit of their Nation, which delights in Cruelty, as also by the Character of the Language, which is proper for great Expressions;” an Englishman must naturally be at once both pleased and disgusted; pleased at the Compliment paid to the Genius and Language of his Nation; disgusted at the Cause assigned for the former, the Delight in Cruelty: But when he reflects, that this Jesuit wrote soon after the Butcheries of the Civil War, and the Murder of K. Charles I. and that there is actually a Fault in our old Tragedies, which would not have been borne upon the ancient Grecian, or the modern French Stage, he will be the less surprized and exasperated at the Criticism: The Fault I mean, is that which of late Years has been exploded by our own Criticks, the too frequent Murders, Duels, and Battles, that are exhibited in Sight of the Audience.

Coufet, in his short Description of the World, has this remarkable Passage when he comes to sum up what he had to say of the British Isles. “Great Britain and Ireland may pass for a Paradise, a Land of Blessedness. These two Islands abound in all Things necessary to Life, and even to Luxury: They want only Wine, which they can so easily import from other Countries, that perhaps there is more Wine drank in these two Isles than in all France. The Country is so rich, that the annual Revenue of Lands in England and Wales amounts to ten Millions Sterling, and the Rents of hired Houses to more than two Millijens*.”

E—I will only observe, upon the Justice of this Passage, that the present Land Tax of two Millions, at 4s. in the Pound, and the small Proportion paid in some Counties, prove that he is far from having over-rated the whole annual Amount.

F But what chiefly put me upon these Reflections, is a Passage I have met with in the Baron de Pollnitz’s Memoirs. “Such is the Genius of the Nation, says he, that a mild just King is sure of their Love and Respect, and he finds them as obedient to his Will as a Tyrant King finds them reluctant. All that find Fault with the English for Disaffection to their Kings, have not duly read their History, or are fond of Slavery; and they who think a King of Great Britain is to be pitied because he is not absolute, have a false Notion of Kingly Power. A Monarch of England is capable of doing as much Good as any King in the World; but he can do no Wrong. And what can a King, if he be an honest Man (pardon me

* Our Author here follows Mr. King’s Calculation, who mentions, besides, two Millions in other Hereditaments, in all 14 Millions. Among the Houses, he does not include those that are let with the Lands.

me this Expression, 'tis a Character not unworthy of a King) desire more? What needs there more to satisfy his Ambition? And is it possible that a Man can be pitied, because 'tis not in his Power to make Millions of People miserable? For my Part, I think that the *English*, who do not stand up for their Laws and Liberties, are altogether as criminal, as they who oppose the Will of their Sovereign in a Place where arbitrary Power is once establish'd.—A *true English* Nobleman or Gentleman sacrifices every Thing he has for his Country: The Court and its Favours are not strong enough to captivate him: He can renounce both, when he thinks himself engag'd in Honour to oppose the Court Measures in Parliament, and he lays down his Employments. A King has seldom the Pleasure of turning a Man out, and much less that of being solicited by the Person in Disgrace to restore him to Favour. They that are out of Favour, are not shun'd here as they are elsewhere; and they are so far from being abandoned by their Friends, that a Nobleman has often a greater Levee in his Disgrace than he had when in Favour."

If a *Locke* or a *Trenchard* were to paint a King of *England*, I fancy he could not do it in more lively Colours than our *Frenchify'd German* has here made use of: He could not more justly point out wherein the true Happiness of a Sovereign consists, nor shew a more noble Sense of the Value we ought to put on our Laws and Liberties. But amid these Sentiments we see the Slave, where he seems to acknowledge that when arbitrary Power is once establish'd, all Opposition to the Sovereign is afterwards criminal. Such are the Ideas of all those Nations of Wretches, who have the Misfortune to be taught they are born only for the Pleasure of one *Man*.

But, for God's Sake! have not all Mankind the same Right to Liberty, if they have but the Means and Spirit to assert it? In these indeed they are deficient; and the Example of every Community of Slaves may teach us, that those who are once enslaved in Fact, if they do not soon recover their Liberty, will suffer their Minds, and all their Thoughts, to crouch under the Yoke of Bondage. The *Swedes*, very luckily, upon the Death of *Charles XII.* took the Advantage of a Female Succession, to re-assert their Rights, which had been taken from them by *Charles XI.* But the Chains here were so lately rivetted, that Thousands remembered when they had been free, and were still sensible of the Difference between their two Conditions. Another Reign of considerable Length, if the

last *Hero* had left a Son, might have lost this warlike Gothic Nation to all Futurity.

This I take to be really the Case of the *Danes*, who have been now Slaves above 80 Years; a Time sufficient to bring on an absolute Insensibility! The present Generation, thro' a Want of Habitude to talk freely, must have forgot that their Ancestors had once Rights and Privileges which they could call their own.—But I must confess, that if the Doctrine be admitted of Children suffering for the Sins of their Parents, no Nation is so worthy of Slavery as the *Danes*, whose Fathers made a voluntary Surrender of their Liberties to their Sovereign.

B What *M. Pollnitz* says of our Temper towards Kings is undoubtedly just: But when he comes to paint the Nobility and Gentry, if he had not used the Word *true*, I profess I should have been tempted to think he had designed an Irony, or that he had copied rather from our old Chronicles than his own Observation.—A *true English* Nobleman, a *true English* Gentleman, is indeed all he has said: But were we to draw from Nature, as she appears in a certain Circle that is always fatal to Virtue, would not this be a much better Picture?

An *English* Nobleman or Gentleman always professes great Love to his Country, and, before he gets into the H—se, or attends on the C—t, makes his Dependents believe he would sacrifice every Thing for Glory and Patriotism: This C—t and its Favours, he assures you, are not strong enough to captivate him; but when they shine upon him, alas! he finds his own Strength decay, and anon their Force becomes irresistible. Had Honour her ancient Power in his Breast, he would indeed renounce all, and again harangue for his Country with a noble Contempt of his Employments: But to resign is to renounce a certain Profit, and to be turn'd out is both scandalous and ungrateful; besides that it might cost the Lord knows how much Solicitation, the Lord knows how long Attendance, to get again restored. And then to be abandon'd by those Friends that can serve him, to lose the Pleasure of the secret Whisper, to make no longer a Figure at the *Levee*, and to have no more Power of conferring secondary Favours: these are Misfortunes that his great Mind has not the Resolution to bear.

G N. B. As our Readers may be desirous of having the long French Account of the Battle of Fontenoy, we shall insert it in our next, if some other important Action in those Parts does not intervene.

302 Gentle PARTHENISSA. Set by Mr. SULLIVAN.

Largo

When gentle Parthe-

nis—fa walks, Or gay—ly smiles, or

sweet——ly talks ; A thousand charms a—

round her fly, A thousand swains un—

heed—ed die. A thou—sand swains unheed—ed

die.

2.

If then she labours to be seen,
With all her killing airs and mein ;

From so much beauty, so much art,
What mortal can secure his heart !

N O O N.

THE day grows hot, and darts his rays
From such a sure and killing place,
That this half world are fain to fly
The danger of his killing eye.

His early glories were benign,
Warm to be felt, bright to be seen,
And all was comfort ; but who can
Endure him, when *meridian* ?

Of him we as of kings complain,
Who mildly do begin to reign ;
But to the zenith got of power,
Those, whom they should protect, devour.

Has not another *Phaeton*
Mounted the chariot of the sun,
And wanting art to guide his horse,
Is hurry'd from the sun's due course ?

If this holds on, our fertile lands
Will soon be turn'd to parched sands,
And not an onion that will grow
Without a *Nile* to overflow.

The grazing herds now droop and pant,
E'en without toil about to faint ;
And willingly forsake their meat,
To seek a cover from the heat.

The lagging ox is now unbound
From larding the new turn'd up ground ;
Whilst *Hobbinol*, alike o'erlay'd,
Takes his coarse dinner to the shade.

Cellars and grottos now are best
To eat and drink in, or to rest ;
And not a soul above is found,
Can find a refuge under ground.

When pagan tyranny grew hot,
Thus persecuted christians got
Into the dark but friendly womb
Of unknown subterranean *Rome*.

And as that heat did cool at last,
So, a few scorching hours o'erpass'd,
In a more mild and temperate ray
We may again enjoy the day.

E V E N I N G.

THE day's grown old, the fainting sun
Has but a little way to run ;
And yet his steeds, with all his skill,
Scarce lug the chariot down the hill.

With labour spent, and thirst oppress'd,
Whilst they strain hard to gain the *West*,
From fetlocks hot drops melted light,
Which turns to meteors in the night.

The shadows now so long do grow,
The brambles like tall cedars show ;
Mole-hills seem mountains, and the ant
Appears a monstrous elephant.

A very little, little flock
Shades thrice the ground that it would stock ;
Whilst the small stripling following them,
Appears a mighty *Polypbeme*.

These being brought into the fold,
And by the thrifty master told,
He thinks his wages are well pay'd,
Since none are either lost or stray'd.

Now lowing herds are each-where heard,
Chains rattle in the villain's yard ;
The cart's on tail set down to rest,
Bearing on high the cuckold's crest.

The hedge is stript, the clothes brought in,
Nought's left without should be within ;
The bees are hiv'd and hum their charm,
Whilst every house does seem a swarm.

The cock now to the roost is prest,
For he must call up all the rest ;
The sow's fast pegg'd within the sty,
To still her squeaking progeny.

Each one has had his supping mess,
The cheese is put into the press ;
The pans and bowls clean scalded all,
Rear'd up against the milk-house wall.

And now on benches all are sat
In the cool air to sing and chat,
Till *Phæbus*, dipping in the *West*,
Shall lead the world the way to rest.

Upon seeing the Part of AMANDA, in Love's Last Shift : Acted at the Theatre in York, by Mrs. ROBERTSON.

CURIOS ! to trace the soft *Amanda's* mind,
And view a heart, to serious truths inclin'd.
Each scene, I mourn'd neglected virtue's state,

Till love prevail'd and reconcil'd her fate :
The soothing tale by *Robertson* was told,
Smooth was her tongue, the tender heart
to mold :

The rover revell'd, and mistaken lay
In faithful arms, to toy the night away ;
Then charm'd by virtue, and by truth
subdu'd,

Stung with reproach, for follies he pursu'd,
Asham'd to think, the transport he confess'd,
Was found at last in chaste *Amanda's* breast ;
Tender she prob'd, till by her gentle art
She pour'd the balm, which reach'd the wounded part.

Great her desert ! a husband thus to save,
Who scorn'd to shed a tear upon her grave,
Pleas'd I beheld, and saw the artful wife
Redeem the gem she priz'd above her life.

Instructed thus, the mind must sure improve,
And every husband wish, to meet *Amanda's*
love ;
And each kind wife, if *Robertson* appear,
May view her likeness, in *Amanda* there.

On Miss S. P. walking in the Park at
Petworth, with other Ladies.

FAVOUR my lays, assist ye tuneful nine,
Propitious prove, and prosper my de-
sign.

But who can write, or in weak language dress,
What neither paint nor pencil, can express ?
The task is hard, and yet my baffled muse,
Inflam'd with beauty, can no other choose ;
By *Venus* prompt, I dare engage my quill,
And where my thoughts are center'd try my
skill.

[nam'd,
There stands a town, the *Saxons Petworth*
Suffex the county, and for beauty fam'd,
Where noble *Seamour*, venerably great,
Displays his bounty, and has fix'd his seat ;
Where parks and lawns, which nature only
made,

[shade.

With groves and grottos, yield a grateful
Here beauteous walks, and there a vista seen,
With fawns and lambkins sporting o'er the
green.

Where every night (when *Phœbus* hides his
head
And steals, with extasy, to *Thetis'* bed)
Each heavenly nymph, a thousand charms
displays,
And captivates the swain, a thousand ways.
Confus'd I gaze, with raptures set on fire,
Think all are *Helens*, and each fair admire.
In *Sally's* form a *Venus'* self is seen,
Polly has eyes, and *Nancy* graceful mien ;
Bessy good nature and bewitching air,
Sally complexion, *Philly* lovely hair ;
Yet one, alas ! Oh ! how shall I reveal ?
Has stoln my heart, 'tis *P—d—k* bears the
hell.

A S O N G .

WOULD *Nanny* condescend
To bless a lover's arms,
In mirth my days I'd spend,
Secure of all alarms.
Nought should disturb my joys,
Above each frown of fate ;
For that, I would despise
The *Sultan's* haughty state.

Her looks divinely fair,
Would every care beguile,
To sweetness, turn despair,
And make dull sorrow smile.
There charms distinguish'd shine ;
There nature's void of art :
There each admiring swain
Receives a wounded heart.

To Mr. MOLESWORTH, on his Mar-
riage.

NO flatt'rer I, no slave to venal praise,
Sacred to friendship are my artless
lays.

Friendship alone, O thou my muse inspire,
And warm me equal to my *Molesworth's* fire.
Then will my verses in soft numbers flow,
And ev'ry line with breathing thought will
glow.

Molesworth, to you my tribute now I
bring,

Of you, and your sweet confort, now I sing.

May gracious heav'n your nuptials ever
bless,

And each glad day increase your happiness ;
May both your harmless lives slide soft-

away,

Not as the great, the gaudy, and the gay,

(Who are the idle pageants of a day)

But like to theirs, whom peace and virtue

crown

With pleasures, such as heav'n itself may

And when you must resign your gentle sway,

May seraphs waft you to eternal day.

T. L.

To DELIA.

TO him the poets name refuse,
Who does alone invoke the *Muse*,
Whose heart no lovely object warms,
Who dares resist a beauty's charms.
Tho' still the *Muse* adorns my song,
To thee alone my strains belong :
Do thou, bright queen of soft desire,
My soul with flame poetick fire ;
Do thou the pleasing heat infuse,
And be the subject and the *Muse*.

Oxon.

B. T.

On DELIA.

BY blustering winds, and stormy seas,
The frighten'd sailor blindly tost,
With pleasure views the peaceful main,
And hails the wish'd-for spicy coast.

Ambrosial odours scent the air,
And nought but kind-perfuming gales
Breathe lightly o'er the curling wave,
And gently fill the swelling sails.

On some sweet isle the sailor lands,
With joy to view the fertile soil,
Where ev'ry bough, dispensing sweets,
Rewards his former anxious toil.

But heav'nly *Delia*, sweeter far,
Can more delightful pleasure give ;
Let her but deign a tender smile,
My raptur'd heart forgets to grieve.

In

In her alone delight I find,
When panting o'er her heaving breast ;
There let me ever joyful dwell,
Within that heav'nly seat of rest.
No gnawing cares my bosom heave,
When folded in her clasping arms ;
Not all *Arabia's* spicy groves,
Can breathe such soft endearing charms.
B. T.
Oxon.

In Britonas nuper à Gallis occisis.
DESISTE Heroas plorare, Britannia,
cæsos ; [est.
Pro te dulce decus, patria chara, mori
D. W.

In Obitum ebarissimi Amici.
JAM sume tristes, Melpomene, modos,
Urget J—m perpetuus sopor ;
Plorate, vos musæ, trophyæum
Lugubre nil miserantis Orci.
Heu mecessus * Orpheus illachrymabilem
Plutona dulci carmine musices
Lenire molitur, laboratque
Elycio revocare natum,
Frustra. Tyrannus non magis audiit
Olim poetæ Threicæ lyram ;
At invidet terris J—m,
Delicias nimium fugaces.
Non ille belli turbine nobilis
Insecit ensem sanguine Gallico,
Hoc forte mulceret dolores,
Quos alit irrequietus Orpheus.
Nam dulce charâ est pro patriâ mori,
At O, nefandum ! ter miser occidit,
(Cum flore lanugo genarum
Vix nova vestierat decorum)
Qua dirus ardor fievit Apollinis,
Tuis remotus finibus, Anglia ;
Non blanda mater, non sodales,
Non genitor comitatur urnam.
Amata multum pars animæ meæ,
Illiuste nomen non patiar tuum
Perire, siquid possit ardens
Officium tenuis Camoenæ.

S O N G.

Tune of *Arno's Vale.**Nemo me impune laceſſet.*

IN vain curst slander's venom'd tongue
Attempts to do your shepherd wrong ;
Its force subsides, his foes all fall,
He'll rise superior to them all.
Smile still, my fair, and charm my eyes,
Tho' monsters, *hydras*, *gorgons* rise ;
Their force united he'll subdue,
Whilst thus approv'd and bles'd by you.

2.
This still betides the man, who dare
To wage with fate unequal war ;
Who scorns the mean dependent state,
And aims by virtue to be great ;

His perils tho' o'ergone and past,
He's still pursu'd by envy's blast ;
But meagre envy he'll subdue,
Whilst thus approv'd and bles'd by you.

On his Excellency the Earl of CHESTERFIELD's being appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

ODE. By Mr. Chamberlen.

I.
HAIL ! bleſt Ierne ! happy state !
See Chesterfield, the good, and great,
Upon thy coasts appear ;
Replete with pity, and with love,
He comes thy sorrows to remove,
And dry up ev'ry tear.

2.
Grac'd with each virtue of the mind,
The darling he of all mankind,
As *Titus* was of yore ;
Above each mercenary end,
No villain will, 'cause rich, befriend,
Nor merit scorn, 'cause poor.

3.
Endow'd with vast benevolence,
With joy all blessings he'll dispense,
Diffusive as the sun ;
Like that too, all benignity,
Of doing good ne'er weary he,
Until his course be run.

4.
But griev'd, the sword if forc'd to draw,
The wretched profligate to awe,
And injur'd to redress ;
With mercy, justice still will blend,
Will chastise, only to amend,
And punish, but to bless.

5.
The worthy substitute of *Zeus*,
No corrupt scheme will he approve,
Nor no oppressor skreen ;
Virtue's unalterable friend,
Her cause he ever will defend,
Firm, steady, and serene.

6.
Affable, easy of access,
Still sympathizing with distress,
And hating to deceive ;
He'll not put off with vain delay,
Nor discontented send away,
The wretch he can relieve.

7.
If woes there be past all relief,
'Twill fill him with unfeigned grief ;

His truly noble breast
Would wish t' alleviate ev'ry ill,
And, were his power as his will,
No one would be unbleis'd.

8.

Rejoice, then, ye *Hibernian* swains,
And quick prepare your choicest strains,
To welcome him ashore;
Who comes *Saturnian* times to bring,
With joy to make all places ring,
And happiness restore.

9.

Were *Swift* but now, as years ago,
How would his grateful heart o'erflow,
This op'ning scene to see!
How would the *Drapier's* patriot breast
Exult, to see his country blest,
O *Chesterfield*, in thee!

10.

How would they each their efforts join,
And invoke all the tuneful nine,
Thy worth to celebrate!
Till the whole isle should sound thy fame,
And babes should learn to lisp the name
Of *Stanhope*, good, and great!

11.

Ah! were it but my happy fate,
On him t' attend at any rate,
How blest would be my lot!
To see, to share, those blissful days,
When all are fill'd with thanks and praise,
And care is quite forgot.

Extempore on the DIVINE POWER and WISDOM.

GREAT Source of bliss, eternal Cause
Of being, light and love,
By thy irrevocable laws
All parts of nature move.
With pleasing wonder I survey
Th' Almighty's peerless art:
Ev'n beauties strike the ravish'd eye
In nature's meanest part.

To the Memory of Lieut. Colonel HENRY CLEMENTS.

SHALL boastful pomp, the high imperial
name,
Or titles only, swell the trump of fame;
To equal worth, be equal glory due,
And wreaths that bloom'd for *Clayton*,
bloom for you!

O! once endu'd with every pleasing pow'r
To chear the sad, and charm the social hour;
To sweeten life with many a gentle art,
And win the whole dominion of the heart!
I deem'd far other than the fates allow,
The laurels bound upon your living brow;
To greet my friend, returning from his toil,
Grac'd with his deeds, and laden with his
spoil. [yield,

Too fond of what the martial harvests
Alas! too forward to the dangerous field,

As one of old renown, in battle try'd,
The glory of the dusty plain you dy'd;
The tongues of *Dettingen* your triumphs tell,
And weeping *Tourney* points where *Clements*
fell.

O! in some future day of loud alarms,
When virtue and my country call to arms;
For freedom! struggling nations to unbind,
And break the scepters which would bruise
mankind;

At such an hour, in such a cause as thine,
The honour'd close of such a death be mine!
Then may some kindred bard appoint my
grave, [brave;
Snatch forth my name, and roll it with the
Assign my pen and sword the wish'd ap-
plause, [cause;
And say that both were drawn in virtue's
Then drop the salutation giv'n to you,
Companion, countryman, and friend—adien.

H Y M N to VICTORY.

VICTORIA, once *Britannia's* queen,
Again thy antient seat resume!
Return, and be conspicuous seen,
High-perch'd upon her hero's plume!

Led on by thee, her remnant host
Shall seek th' infidious *Gaul* again;
Each man revenge a brother's ghost,
That now glides restless o'er the plain.
But chiefly, Oh! rebeift her flag,
Too long insulted and betray'd;
Her treach'rous sons to justice drag,
And teach her foes to be afraid!

*Upon the French King, at his Head Quarters
at the Castle of Chin.*

WHILE *Cumberland* brave sought
tho' thick and thin, [Cbin:
Intrench'd lay pale *Lewis*, quite up to the
Had the prince but been blest with a little
more luck, [giv'n him a chyck,
He'd have reach'd his head quarters, and

*Upon Adjourning the CONFERENCES for the
Exchange of Prisoners.*

IF the *Bellefles* unjustly we detain,
And hence our foes have reason to com-
plain,

Ye captives dead since fatal *Fontenoy*,
And whom captivity may yet destroy,
Whose wounds, well treated, gave no cause
of fear, [appear?
'Gainst whom in judgment shall your ghosts
Is't not that *H——r?* whose dirty cause
Drags us thro' honour's, and thro' nature's
laws! [ful sob,
We call you friends! and heave the mourn-
'The British martyrs of a *G——n* jobb.'

THE

THE Monthly Chronologer.



BOUT the Middle of last Month, his Majesty's Ship the *Fox*, took a French Privateer of 14 Guns, 16 Swivels, and 145 Men, called *le Bon Ame Louis*, which came out of Dunkirk five Days before. Soon after, the *Princess Louisa* took the *Achilles* Privateer of St. Maloe, of 22 Guns and 145 Men; and the *Monmouth*, the *Vestale* Privateer, of the same Place.

About the same Time, the *Sherness* Privateer of *Bristol*, and the *Boscawen*, of *Dartmouth*, took five homeward bound *Martinico* Men, after a smart Engagement, in which the *Boscawen* had but one Man killed and 6 wounded, and the *French* 103 Men kill'd and wounded. There were 8 French Ships in Company. Two made their Escape, and another, call'd the *la Maria Pierot* was sunk, and only the Captain, 16 Men, and one Woman, were saved.

On May 30, a Court Martial was held on Board the *Lenox* at *Spithead*, by Admiral *Stewart*, on Account of the Loss of his Majesty's Ship the *Anglesea*, which was taken by four French Men of War, and carried into *Brest*; when all the Officers were honourably acquitted. (See p. 204.)

On the 31st, the Sessions ended at the *Old Baily*, when the 8 following Malefactors received Sentence of Death. viz. *Benj. Stevens*, a Shoemaker, for the Murder of his Wife, by stabbing her in the Breast with his cutting Knife: *John Symmons*, for returning from Transportation before his Term of 7 Years was expir'd: *Margaret Greenaway* and *Anne Russ*, (two of the *Black-boy Alley Gang*) for a Street Robbery; *Jer. Burton*, for privately stealing a Silver Watch: And *John Jeffs*, *Richard Horton*, otherwise *Toss-off-Dick*, and *Joseph Lucas*, otherwise *Ninn*, for Burglary.

Copy of Sir Robert Monro's Letter to the absent Officers of the Highland Regiment.

SIR, *Leffines Camp, May 22, 1745, O.S.*

I am commanded, by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, to order you immediately to join the Regiment, and to inform you, that no Excuse will be accepted; but if you delay joining the Regiment, in a reasonable Time after you receive this Notice, (of which his Royal Highness will

be Judge) you will be superseded. And to apprise all the Officers of his Highness's Pleasure, I have order'd a Copy of this Letter to be printed in the *Edinburgh News Paper*. I am, Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

ROBERT MONRO.

MONDAY, June 3.

Sir *Chaloner Ogle* arriv'd at *St. Helen's*, from *Jamaica*, with the *Cumberland*, *Montague*, *Rippon*, and *Affiance* Men of War, and 9 Merchantmen for *London*; 7 more, Part of the Fleet, having sail'd up the *Bristol Channel*. On board the *Rippon* arriv'd Admiral *Mayne*, one of the new Admirals. About the same Time we had Advice, that Vice-Admiral *Davies*, with the Squadron under his Command, as also the Victuallers and Transports, arriv'd at *Jamaica* on March 11.

FRIDAY, 7.

Seven of the eight Malefactors condemn'd in the April Sessions at the *Old Baily* were executed at *Tyburn*, viz. *Lettice Lynn*, *Stephen Parsons*, *Eward Ryan*, *Edmund Gilbert*, *Samuel Kepp*, *George Norton*, and *Mary White*, alias *Cut-and-come-again*, the only Name she would go by till after her Condemnation. *Hester Fowler* was repriev'd for Transportation for 14 Years. (See p. 204.)

WEDNESDAY, 12.

The *Forvey* Man of War destroy'd the *Griphon* Privateer of St. Malo, of 26 Guns, besides Swivels, and 250 Men.

MONDAY, 17.

A Court-Martial was held on board his Majesty's Ship the *Sandwich*, before Vice-Admiral *Stewart*, President; Captains, *St. Loe*, *Colby*, *Chambers*, *Pawlet*, *Gideon*, *Balcher*, *Rentone*, *Martin*, *Stevens*, *Callis*, *Fielding*, and *Burnaby*; when Capt. *Green*, Commander of the *Lizard* Sloop of War, was try'd, for not obeying Capt. *Bulley*'s Orders, to engage a French Privateer, which Capt. *Bulley*, in the *Vulture*, and Capt. *Green*, in the *Lizard*, met with, the 1st of May in the Morning, near the Seven Islands, on the Coast of France; and, after hearing the Evidence on both Sides, the Court sentenced Capt. *Green* to be immediately dismiss'd the Service, and render'd incapable of ever serving in his Majesty's Royal Navy, and to be imprison'd for one Year in the *Marshalsea Prison*.

TUES-

TUESDAY, 18.

The Lords of the Regency order'd the Parliament, which stood prorogu'd till Thursday the 20th, to be further prorogu'd to Tuesday the 22d of August next.

A General Court of the South-Sea Company was held on this Day, when the Affairs of Thomas Shuttleworth, their late Clerk, who has defrauded the Company of very large Sums of Money, was taken into Consideration, and the Court agreed that the Company should stand to the Loss of the said Sums, and that for the future none of the Company's Clerks shall act as Brokers in the Stocks of that Company. (See p. 254.)

The same Day, at a Court of Aldermen held at Guild-ball, Edward Gibbon, of Putney, Esq; Member of Parliament for Southampton, and Alderman of Vintry Ward, desir'd Leave of the Court to resign his Gown, on Account of the great Fatigue of the Office, and his constant Residence in the Country; which the Court was pleas'd to grant. He was chosen Alderman on March 24, 1742-3, on the Death of Sir William Rous, Knt. (See our Mag. for 1743, p. 154.)

THURSDAY, 20.

Crispe Gascoyne, Esq; Citizen and Brewer, was chosen Alderman of Vintry Ward, in the Room of the above-mention'd Gentleman.

FRIDAY, 21.

Robert Sharpe, Pilot of the Weymouth Man of War, was committed to the Marshalsea Prison, by a Warrant from the Lords of the Admiralty, pursuant to a Court-Martial held by Vice-Admiral Dovers, Feb. 18, at Antigua, for losing the said Ship; his Sentence is to be imprison'd for two Years, and for ever render'd incapable of serving in his Majesty's Navy.

MONDAY, 24.

John Pickering, Esq; Citizen and Merchant-Taylor, and Paunsfort Green, Esq; Citizen and Wiredrawer, were chosen Sheriffs of London and Middlesex for the Year ensuing. Seven Gentlemen had before this paid their Fines to be excused serving that Office, viz. Edward Parker, Thomas Ashurst, George Roberts, Robert Purse, Abram Dakins, Robert Milner, and Henry Flitcroft, Esqrs.

THURSDAY, 27.

Extract of a Letter, dated at Ostend, July 5, N. S.

This Morning at One we were alarm'd by a terrible Fire of Cannon, which proved to be a Sea-Engagement close under our Cannon. Two 20 Gun Ships, viz. the Bridgewater, Lord George Grabam, the Sheerness, Capt. Gordon, and the Tender commanded by Lieut. Ferguson, were close

engag'd with the Real Privateer of 23 Guns, the Princess de Penthièvre of 26, and a Dogger of 18, all from Dunkirk, who had under their Convoy the following Prizes, taken in the North Seas, viz. the Mary, Capt. Hill, from Newcastle for Carolina; the Cambridge, Duncan, the Baltimore, Biggi, and the Sea-Horse, Williams, late Randell, from Virginia for London; two Bremen Ships for Bristol, and a Scotch Vessel with Corn. The Engagement lasted till past Five, when our Men of War run the two great Privateers on Shore, and the first four large Prizes, and secur'd the two Bremen Vessels; the Dogger Privateer got clear from our three Commanders, who bore the Fire of three Privateers, as also of the Prizes, which are all Ships of Force, and fir'd as much as any of them, and they all almost Yard-Arm and Yard-Arm. Capt. Gordon sustain'd the Fire of the 3 Privateers for above half an Hour, when he was oblig'd to sheet off to stop a Leak; then Lord George Grabam came up and chark'd them fast ashore; but it was high Water, and they came so close to the Shore, that the two 20 Gun Ships are also ashore with them. The French also behav'd well, for after Lord Grabam had run the two large Privateers ashore, and himself also, they continued firing at each other for near a Quarter of an Hour, before the French would strike their Colours. On board the Real Privateer there are about 40 Men kill'd, and 30 wounded; on board the Princess de Penthièvre, about 30 kill'd, and as many wounded, and their Sails so much shatter'd, that they are like Sieves. As to our Loss, it is a Thing almost not to be credited, being so trifling, notwithstanding the terrible Firing they sustain'd. Capt. Gordon is wounded in the Foot by a Splitter, and has one Man kill'd and two wounded; Lord George Grabam one Man wounded; and on board the Tender not one hurt. We are in great Hopes the Men of War will be got off next Tide, notwithstanding they are both dry. The Real's Main-Mast is stain'd all over with Blood which came from their own Round-Tops: The said Privateer had on board 15 or 16 Ransomers.

There came Advice afterwards, that the above Ships were all safely arriv'd at Dover,

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

WILLIAM Clayton, Esq; Memb. for Bletchingley in Surrey, to Miss Ward, a 30,000*l.* Fortune.—Obadiab Sully, of Cambridge, Esq; to Miss Ward, a 20,000*l.* Fortune.—Rev. Mr. Mills, to Miss Potter, Daughter of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.—Charles Hale, Esq; to Miss Temple, a 20,000*l.* Fortune.—Roger Mawring,

waring, of Chester, Esq; to Miss Dudley, Daughter of Sir William Dudley, Bart.—Thomas Fanshaw, Esq; to Miss Nanny Gascoyne, Daughter of Mr. Alderman Gascoyne.—Tho. Hill, Esq; to Miss Marten.—Rev. Dr. Tomard, to Miss Dives.—Rich. Davies, of Llanbeder in Brecknockshire, Esq; to Miss Parry, a 20,000l. Fortune.—Lady of the Earl of Dalkeith, Son to the Duke of Buccleugh, deliver'd of a Son and Heir.—Duchess of Bedford, of a Son, who is since dead.—A Soldier's Wife in Duke-street, Westminster, of three Daughters, christned Anne, Amelia and Caroline.

DEATHS.

WILLIAM Brome, of Ewittington in Herefordshire, Esq; a Gentleman of excellent Learning, a skilful Antiquary, and a great Linguist.—Capt. Robert Mee, aged 87, who had been many Years a Commander in the Royal Navy.—Thomas Pryse, Esq; Member of Parl. for Cardigan.—William Chace, Esq; formerly Sheriff for the County of Leicester.—Rt. Hon. John Lord Viscount Allen, of the Kingdom of Ireland.—Hon. Lady Herbert, Sister of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.—The Lady of Sir Robert Pringle, of Stichbel, Bart.—Mr. Stephen Switzer, an eminent Seedsman in Westminster-Hall, well known for his Treatises on Agriculture, &c.—Hon. Col. Richard Davenant, aged 73, Son to the late Sir William Davenant, Knt. He was Page of Honour to the Duke of Monmouth, and was with him on the Scaffold at the Time of his Death, and afterwards served several Campaigns under K. William.—Rt. Rev. Dr. John Sterne, Lord Bishop of Clogher in Ireland, in the 85th Year of his Age.—Robert Clayton, Esq; Receiver General of the Land Tax for Herefordshire.—John Pottenger, Esq; suddenly, at Reading.—Charles Desminique, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for Gatton in Surrey.—Hon. Edward Keppel, Esq; Son of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Albemarle, a Minor, about 9 Years old.—Rt. Hon. the Lady Beauclerk, Relict of the late Lord William Beauclerk.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

M^r. Tillotson, Great Nephew of the late excellent Archbishop Tillotson, chosen Lecturer of St. Augustin and St. Faith.—Mr. Hugh Robinson presented to the Vicarage of Ashley in the Diocese of Chester.—Mr. Alsworth, to the Vicarage of Sutton in Staffordshire.—Mr. Pigot, to the Vicarage of Shenton in Shropshire.—Mr. Stephen Degulben, to the United Rectories of Carlton St. Peter cum Abby, in Norfolk.—Mr. Eusebius Eccleston, to the Rectory of Ormskirk in Lancashire.—John Bland, M. A. to the Rectories of Theddlethorpe St. Helen's and Belleau cum Abi in Lincolnshire.—Mr. John Stephenson, to the Vicarage of Renton in Staffordshire.—Richard Bentley, M. A.

to the Rectory of Nelson, alias Naylesdon, in Leicestershire.—Thomas Billis, M. A. to the Rectory of Ravenstone in Derbyshire.—John Jackson, B. A. to the Vicarage of Potton in Bedfordshire.—Richard Frinsbam, M. A. to the Rectory of Thornbury in Devonshire.—Mr. Thomas Bright, to the Rectory of Rusenden in Northamptonshire.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

SIR William Russel, Bart. made Page of Honour to her Royal Highness the Princess Amelia.—Lord Visc. Cobham made Colonel of the Regiment of Dragoons, late Churchill's, deceased.—Carpenter, Esq; made Lieut. Governor of the Island of Montserrat in America.—Charles Churchill, Esq; Memb. for Stockbridge, appointed Deputy-Ranger of St. James's and Hyde-Parks, by the Lord Visc. Weymouth, Head Ranger.—Miss Larvson made one of the Maids of Honour to the Princesses Amelia and Caroline, in the Room of Miss Dives, married to Dr. Tomard.—Countess of Middlesex, made Lady of the Bed-Chamber, and Mistress of the Robes to the Prince's of Wales, in the Room of Lady Archibald Hamilton, who resign'd.—Thomas Styles, Esq; made an Ensign in the First Reg. of Foot Guards.—Hon. Sir John Gordon, of Invergordon, Bart. made Secretary to the Prince of Wales for Scots Affairs, and David Moncrieff, Esq; Deputy-Secretary.—Earl of Dunmore, made Captain and Governor of Plymouth.

[The rest of the Military Promotions in the Gazette, and Bankrupts, in our next.]

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from May 21. to June 25.

Christned	{ Males	674	1324
	{ Females	650	
Buried	{ Males	915	1818
	{ Females	903	
Died under 2 Years old		657	
Between 2 and 5		151	
5	10	61	
10	20	76	
20	30	161	
30	40	155	
40	50	201	
50	60	140	
60	70	104	
70	80	78	
80	90	26	
90 and upwards		8	
		1818	

Hay 60 to 63s. a Load.

T

THE

TH E King of *Prussia* having received Advice, that the *Saxons* were in full March to join the *Austrians*, and that both together were to penetrate into *Silesia* by the *Gorge* near *Landshut* in the Principality of *Schweidwitz*, his Majesty ordered the Margrave *Charles* to withdraw the Garrison out of *Jaggersdorff*, and come and join him with the Troops under his Command, amounting to about 9000 Men. On the 7th of last Month, O. S. the Margrave began his March from *Jaggersdorff*; and the same Day his Rear-Guard was attacked by the *Hungarian* Insurgents, but they were repulsed with the Loss of 1400 Men, as the *Prussians* gave out, with two Pair of Colours; whereas on the Side of the *Prussians*, they pretended, that their Loss amounted to no more than one Captain, one Lieutenant, and about 60 Dragoons and Cuirassiers. We may suppose, that by this Account the Loss was very much aggravated on one Side, and diminished on the other; however the Margrave made good his Retreat, and joined the King at *Schweidnitz*, where he had assembled his whole Army, tho' at the same Time he took all the Methods he could to make the Combin'd Army of *Austrians* and *Saxons* believe, that he was resolved to retreat upon their Approach, having for that Purpose abandoned all the Posts and Intrenchments he was possessed of in the Mountains that separate *Silesia* from *Bohemia*. The Combined Army being thus persuaded, that they might march into *Silesia* without Opposition, they began to pass the *Gorges*, and to enter that Province on the 20th, and on the 23^d they began to march down into the plain Country towards *Strigau* and *Jauer*, perhaps with the less Caution, because they imagined, that the *Prussian* Army would certainly retreat; but his Majesty had quite other Thoughts; for that Evening about Eight o'Clock he decamped with the utmost Secrecy, and having marched all Night, he presented himself in order of Battle, and ready to attack the Combined Army, by Four o'Clock the next Morning. As the Combined Army neither had formed, nor could form themselves in a proper Manner, because of the narrow Passes and Defiles, many of their Troops were intangled in, his Majesty immediately began the Attack, and a bloody Battle ensued, of which we had the following Account from *Berlin*, dated June 6, N. S. The Combined Army of *Austrians* and *Saxons*, to above the Number of 80,000 Men, having about the End of last Month enter'd into *Silesia* through the narrow Passages on the Side of *Schemberg*, *Friedland*, and *Landshut*, began upon

the 2d and 3d Instant to form on the Side of *Bolkenhain*, in the Plains towards *Strigau* and *Jauer*, when the King, who had been encamped with his Army at *Jauernick* on the 2d, quitted that Camp on the 3d, and attack'd the Enemy, whose Right Wing consisted of *Austrians*, and their Left of *Saxons*, upon the 4th, at Four o'Clock in the Morning near *Friedberg*. The Battle lasted till Eleven o'Clock in the Morning, and the Horse, as well as Foot, having performed Wonders, we gain'd the most compleat and signal Victory that has been known for this long Time, having taken 5000 Prisoners, amongst whom are six Generals, and 30 other Officers, 66 Pair of Colours, 10 Standards, 8 Pair of Kettle-Drums, and 40 Pieces of Cannon. The *Austrians* and *Saxons* left above 4000 Men killed and wounded upon the Field of Battle, and we pursued them above a League and half from the Field quite to the Mountains. Our Loss amounts to 1200 killed and wounded. Lieutenapt-General Count *Trouches* was killed by a Cannon-Ball. The Colonels *Maffau* and *Schwerin*, and the Lieutenant-Colonels *Bodenbrouk* and *Calbouz*, were dangerously wounded, and Lieutenant-Colonel *Berticou* kill'd. The King, who commanded the Army, was every where, accompanied by the Princes his Brothers, in the hottest of the Fire. We shall not delay giving a more circumstantial Account of this glorious Day in a very little Time.

Poffcript, Berlin, June 8. The following are the Names of the General Officers taken Prisoners, kill'd, wounded, and dead of their Wounds. The Grand-Master of the *Austrian* Artillery, Baron *Berlichingen*, Prisoner and dangerously wounded; the Grand-Master of the *Austrian* Artillery *Thungen*, dead of his Wounds; the Lieutenant Field-Marshal of the *Austrians*, *Francis St. Ignon*, Prisoner and wounded; Major-General *Forgatsch* of the *Austrians*, Prisoner; Major-General *Schlickling* of the *Saxons*, Prisoner. We reckon amongst the Enemy's Generals kill'd, Major-General *Hohenbausen* of the *Austrians*, Major-General *Boschenbozel* of the *Saxons*, without mentioning Colonels and other Staff-Officers. We have just had a great Number of Officers sent in Prisoners. There are already above 80.

The *Austrian* and *Saxon* Accounts of this Battle very much diminish their own Loss, and as much increase that of the *Prussians*; but from all Accounts it seems plain, that the latter obtained a very compleat Victory; for the Accounts from *Breslau* of the 29th of May, O. S. say thus: Yesterday the Regiment of *Hacke* brought into this City

City upwards of 5000 Prisoners, *Austrians* and *Saxons*, with 5 Haubitzers, 65 Pieces of Cannon of different Bores, 78 Colours, 7 Standards, 8 Pair of Kettle-Drums, and 31 Waggons belonging to the *Saxon* Troops; the Whole taken both in the Battle and in the Pursuit. Among the *Saxon* Generals, made Prisoners, or dead since, are the Generals *Munckau*, *Pflug*, *Bessenboestel*, *Nieseneusebel* and *Canitz*, and Prince *Christian William* of *Saxe-Gotha*, who was Major-General of their Cavalry, whose Body has been deposited in the *Lutheran* Church at *Serigau*. The Number of Officers taken Prisoners amounts to near 200.

And from the *Saxon* Account it plainly appears, that the Combined Army was surprised, and attacked when they very little expected any such Thing, that Account beginning thus: According to the best Accounts we have hitherto been able to get of the Action at *Freyberg*, the first Division, commanded by the Duke of *Saxe-Weissenfels*, began about Two o'Clock in the Morning to come out of the *Gorges* into the Plain, and had scarce advanced 50 Paces, when they met the whole *Prussian* Army, drawn up in Battle Array, and advantageously posted with all its Artillery. The *Saxons* made the utmost Efforts of Valour, without being able to form, much less to extend themselves, or to break in upon the Enemy, by Reason of the extreme Inconveniency of the Ground they fought upon, where they were exposed on every Side to the Fire of the *Prussian* Cannon. The Duke of *Saxe-Weissenfels* charged himself, twice or thrice, at the Head of the *Austrian* Cavalry; but some Inconveniences that hinder'd this Cavalry from acting as successfully as was requisite, render'd all our General's Efforts fruitless. Several Regiments of *Austrian* Foot endeavour'd to break the *Prussians*, with their Bayonets fix'd to their Pieces; but the latter repuls'd them, and the Troops were obliged to retreat to the *Gorges* or Defiles of the Mountains, which they did in pretty good Order. All the Division of the Center, consisting of *Austrian* Troops, not having been able to come up out of the *Gorges*, nor form themselves to Advantage, they consequently found themselves incapable of seconding the Efforts of the rest of the Army.

The *French* Armies in *Germany* have, since our last, entirely altered the Design they then seemed to have formed; for the Prince of *Conti*, instead of forming his Army upon the *Neckar*, and marching to attack Count *Traun*, ordered all the Troops to march from thence to the *Main*, and collected his whole Strength into the Neighbourhood of *Auerbachenburgh*, from whence it was thought he intended to march and give Battle to the

Austrian Army under Count *Traun*, or the Allied Army lately under the Command of Duke *d'Aremberg*, and now commanded by Count *Batbiani*, before these two Armies should be able to join; but this, it seems, either was not his Intention, or he has failed in it; for on the 14th Instant, O. S. the two Armies joined at *Wachtersbach* upon the River *Kintz*, from whence they are preparing to march, to give Battle to the Prince of *Conti*, or to oblige him to retire over the *Rhine* with his Army, that the Election of an Emperor may be made, without being overawed by a *French* Army.

The 1st Instant being appointed for the Meeting of the Diet for the said Election, it was opened at *Frankfort* accordingly on that Day; but as the Place is surrounded by *French* Troops, and as few of the Ministers from the Electors are as yet arrived, nothing of any Consequence has as yet been, or will probably soon be resolved on.

From the Armies in *Flanders*, the only material Account we have had since our last, is, that the *French* having pushed on the Siege of the Citadel of *Tournay* with such Vigour as to be ready for the general Assault by the 8th Instant, O. S. the Governor hung out the White Flag, and next Day the Capitulation was settled, the Articles of which we had the following Abstract of, with Remarks upon them, from the *Hague*, dated the 14th, *viz.* That the Officers and Soldiers of the Garrison shall not serve against *France* and her Allies, till the first of *January* 1747, directly nor indirectly, nor be put in Garrison even in the most distant Towns from the Frontier of *France*, nor exercise any military Function during that Time, nor even be incorporated in any Regiments; and, in fine, that they shall not pass into the Service of any foreign Power. These Conditions are exceedingly disliked here, for we had been much better pleased if the Garrison had been made Prisoners of War, because we might then have exchanged or ransomed them. The Honours granted to the Governor and the Garrison are no Compensation for the Harshness of these Conditions, and we little expected that the *French* King would have behav'd so towards the Republick. The Garrison was to march out Yesterday with all the Honours of War, four Pieces of Cannon, two Mortars, &c.

The *French* being thus in Possession both of Town and Citadel, have begun to demolish the Fortifications, in which they have employed above 3000 Peasants; and as soon as this is done, they threaten to begin some other Siege; for which they are making such Preparations as equally threaten *Mons*, *Charleroy* and *Namur*.

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